# History of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu & Kashmir

*Edited by*
Prof. MOHAMMAD YASIN
and
Dr. A. QAIYUM RAFIQI
*Post-Graduate Department of History,*
*University of Kashmir, Srinagar.*

LIGHT & LIFE PUBLISHERS
NEW DELHI JAMMU TRIVANDRUM

DS
485
.K2
H64

Copyright © University of Kashmir

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publishers.

Light & Life Publishers
2428, Tilak Street, Paharganj, New Delhi-110055.
Residency Road, Jammu Tawi-180001 (J & K).
Karumom, Trivandrum-695002 (Kerala).

*First Edition: 1980*

Published by N. Gopinath for Light & Life Publishers and Printed by Ashokas Press, New Delhi-110005 at Avtar Printers, Sant Nirankari Colony, Delhi-110009.

# PREFACE

The basic cause of people's unrest throughout the world has been mainly socio-economic and political in nature. The natural urge of a human being is freedom in its totality. Man loves his environment, his traditions and his own way of life. All this leads to the equilibrium which is necessary for a healthy development of man and society. When this equilibrium is disturbed, by loss of freedom or some other cause, he feels suffocated and as a logical corollary of this he tries to free himself from the fetters imposed on him by an alien way of life.

The dawn of the twentieth century brought awakening and political consciousness to Jammu and Kashmir as it did to the rest of the Indian sub-continent. The economic exploitation, social mal-adjustment and political domination gave rise to a vigorous battle for self-identification of the people suffering under an imposed political system which had rendered them sullen and submissive.

That the Freedom Struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir has not been studied so far in its proper historical perspective is well-known. To fulfil this generally felt need, the History Department of Kashmir University organized a six-day seminar in September, 1978, which was made possible by the generous grant of the University Grants Commission The present volume is the result of the round-table discussions in which views were expressed without mental reservations and inhibitions.

We take this opportunity of thanking Professor Rais Ahmad, our Vice-Chancellor, under whose leadership the academic activities at the Campus have received a vigorous impetus and a new orientation. We are also thankful to the participants for their earnestness and devotion which made this seminar a great success.

The success of the Seminar was also due to the help and co-operation of other colleagues in the Department who spared no pains in looking after the arrangements and comforts of the

participants.

Our heartiest thanks are, however, due to Dr. Vinayshil Gautam, who not only delivered the keynote address to the conference but also took great pains in preparing this volume for the press.

Shri N. Gopinath of Light & Life Publishers deserve special commendation for his services to publish this volume.

Mohammad Yasin
A. Qaiyum Rafiqi

# INTRODUCTION

It is, perhaps, for the first time in the History of Kashmir University that the proceedings of a Seminar have been published in a full-fledged book form covering about 250 pages. I feel great pleasure in commending this volume to the students of history as well as to general readers interested in the most important aspect of the history of Jammu and Kashmir, namely, the Struggle for Freedom. This volume also is an humble tribute to the memory of the martyrs of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir State.

As a result of the deliberations and the papers presented, two things have clearly emerged. Firstly, the Struggle for Freedom in the State of Jammu and Kashmir was a secular movement. It was a Struggle between *haves* and *have-nots*. The main causes were economic. The exploitation of the masses at the hands of a feudal hierarchy was really responsible for an urge for emanicipation. Secondly, the Freedom Struggle in the Jammu and Kashmir followed on the same pattern and on the same lines as was the case in other princely State. It was closely linked with the Freedom Struggle which was going on in the country as a whole. It is a historical fact that the leaders of All India National Congress did inspire the leaders of the Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir. The happenings in the British Indian territory had its echo in the mountains of this state—the voices of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, resounded from one end to the other.

I take this opportunity to thank our Pro-Chancellor and the Chief Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State, Jenab Sher-i-Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah by whose inaugural address the Seminar got an added weight and a flying start. I am also thankful to the University Grants Commission and especially its Chairman, Prof. Satish Chandra for providing us the grants for holding this Seminar. I have nothing but appreciation for the Post-Graduate Department of History, Kashmir University for translating a dream into reality. I heartily con-

gratulate Prof. Mohammad Yasin, his colleagues and the band of his devoted workers for the success of this Seminar and the proceedings presented in this volume.

Srinagar;
April 27, 1979

RAIS AHMAD
Vice-Chancellor
Kashmir University

## CONTENTS


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Preface | v |
| | Introduction | vii |
| 1. | Problems of the Study of Freedom Struggle in Jammu & Kashmir<br>*Vinayshil Gautam* | 1 |
| 2. | Problems of the Study of Freedom Struggle in Jammu & Kashmir: I<br>*Bhagwan Das Gupta* | 9 |
| 3. | Problems of the Study of Freedom Struggle in Jammu & Kashmir: II<br>*Balraj Puri* | 15 |
| 4. | Freedom Struggle: A Personal Observation<br>*Gwasha Lal Kaul* | 19 |
| 5. | Political Perspective of the Freedom Movement in Jammu & Kashmir<br>*J.L.K. Jalali* | 25 |
| 6. | From Communal to National Politics: Kashmir during 1930-1940<br>*Syed Jamal Uddin* | 57 |
| 7. | Understanding Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah<br>*Prof. Mohammad Yasin* | 75 |
| 8. | Main trends of the History of the Kashmir Freedom Struggle<br>*Peer Giyasuddin* | 79 |
| 9. | Early Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Kashmir<br>*Dr. Ghulam Hassan Khan* | 89 |

10. Genesis of the Freedom Movement in Kashmir 113
*Taraq Waheed*

11. Quest for Responsible Government 125
*Ram Krishen Kaul*

12. Quit India Movement: A Framework 143
*P.N. Jalali*

13. Last Phase of Freedom Struggle of Jammu and Kashmir: The Historical Trials 167
*M. Amin Pandit*

14. Contribution of Jammu People in the Freedom Struggle of Jammu and Kashmir 177
*Sardar Mohinder Singh*

15. The Role of the Kashmiri Pandit in the Freedom Struggle in Jammu & Kashmir 183
*J.N. Ganhar*

16. Involvement of Minorities in the Freedom Struggle in Jammu & Kashmir 193
*Prof. S.L. Pandit*

17. Role of Women in the Freedom Struggle of Kashmir 199
*Dr. (Mrs.) Madhvi Yasin*

18. The Reflection of Freedom Struggle in Kashmiri Verse 211
*Prof. P.N. Pushp*

19. Freedom Struggle of Jammu & Kashmir State as seen in Folklore 221
*Somnath Dhar*

20. Summation 239
*Dr. (Mrs.) D. Devahuti*

Bibliography 243

Index 245

# 1

# *Problems of the Study of Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*

VINAYSHIL GAUTAM

Ever since 1973 when I delivered a talk on "Some problems in the study of social change in a traditional unit in a colonial setting : the case of the Bhojpur traditional unit" at Paris during 29 Orientalist Conference this question of concepts and methodology in the field of history of freedon struggles has been one of my primary concerns. And I might start by first stating what seems to be obvious.

One of the basic problems in the reconstruction of such a process is the recognition of the geographical factor. Ladhak, Kashmir and Jammu, the three basic geographical units of the State form very nearly quasi-autonomous units. Contact between Jammu and Kashmir by road before the Nehru Tunnel came into existence could not be uniformly assured throughout the year. And even when air transportation was feasible what meaning did it have for the basic socio-economic processes as co-related to the sub-continent as a whole ?

Because of these geographical barriers the ethnic characteristics got occupied and a homogeniety of culture throughout the State was not one of its distinguishing characteristics.

Religious distinctions in the demographic break-up of the State be they in the form of Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism what ever, are merely mistaken categories of indentification and a

the root are other factors. These other factors have given to the different sub-regions of this State their distinguishing indentities.

We would be well advised to keep this in mind while getting deep into the analysis of the problems of the study of freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir.

That it has taken over thirty years of independence and the efforts of an innovative seminar such as this to make the first concerted attempt at tackling this problem shows that from the word go it is not a simple problem.

To put the problem realistically the obsession with the issue of the status of Kashmir and its accession has been a great detering force in undertaking such an analysis. I call it an obsession because we became over-cautious and defensive over what uncomfortable things might be said. While talking of the problem in the study of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir I feel it necessary to identify this problem and make a plea for shedding it. It is only then that a serious academic exercise could be under way.

While talking of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir several issues are bound to be raised. What is meant by freedom struggle ? In what time frame etc. etc. Some of these questions I would like to submit are substantial and others, if I feel are facetious. Several learned treatise can be written on the meaning of 'freedom struggle' as they have been on 'culture' and the concept continues to be as elusive as ever. I have a very simple suggestion to make in this context 'freedom struggle' can be said to begin the day when the indigenous local population became conscious of their lack of influence on the decision making processes ; of their economic exploitation to the benefit of other groups and were willing to do something about it. The case of this State seems to me to be very akin to what is happening in Malaysia in last some years. The local Malay population even after getting rid of the British and gaining for themselves a sovereignty and flag realised that of the local Chinese or the Indian population those who did not identify with them were still exploiting. As a result they decided to fight such amongst them who assured to the description of being exploiters. However in the case of this State the time frame is on the reverse. Did the freedom struggle begin with the Amritsar Treaty of 1846

or with conquest of Ranjit Singh or even earlier? I believe the answer lies in what I have said earlier, it began the day the majority of the local indigenous population became conscious of the fact they have lost control over the decision making process and were being exploited for economic benefits of other groups. When exactly this happened in this State one does not know at the moment and selecting any arbitrary date may be entirely misleading. Therefore the problem of periodisation is a critical problem in the study of and identification of the issues in the freedom struggle of Jammu and Kashmir.

Another problem in the study of the freedom struggle in this State is that, as it is a border State it has at various points of history has been affected by political processes of other regions of outside India also. For example the influence of Central Asian developments on Jammu and Kashmir in parts of its history is obvious and this adds to the complexity of the operating force.

I would further like to add that historians and pseudo historians themselves constitute a real problem in the understanding of the freedom struggle here. Even a trained person as S. R. Mehrotra in his paper included in C. H. Phillip's edited book on Partition argues that it was the Muslim majority territories which made for the genesis of Pakistan. In other words if the same Muslim population was spread throughout India there would be no reason for Pakistan. It is their concentration in some areas that constitutes a problem. I would like to reject this hypothesis out of hand as tendentious because like many proponents of the Imperial School of Historical writing, it assumes that all Muslims are separatists and that given the advantage of geographical concentration they would certainly push for division.

I would like to argue on the other hand that quest for regional identity should not be confused with the plea for religious separatism. Various regions in the country are going through this phase and it is quite natural. After years of slumber when people awake they naturally explore and there takes place the emergence of what Nirmal Bose called the 'sub-cultures'. S. R. Mehrotra and his tribe do a great disservice to history in going for this 'run away' argument.

Then there is a tribe of people which is committed to fight

'communalism'. And it names all sorts of things as communal. For example to them 'Allaho Akbar' or 'Jai Bajrang Bali' are communal exhortations in a battle. Again, I may be forgiven if I say I become very confused by this sort of argument. This is the problem of socio-cultural variables in human organisations. In cultures which are pre-industrial pre-literate and predominantly rural there is obviously a lack of professionalism and urbanity. The reference points of human behaviour are woven more around a piece of specified territory as mobility is low. Family and kinship ties are strong for they provide economic and emotional security. Life of a given community is often woven around places of worship which are not just sacrosanct places but fulfil serveral social obligations in the form of running a school, providing a place for travellers to stay etc. Under such circumstances religious symbolism permeats all levels of the daily endeavour, to mistake it as an intolerant gesture of communalism is to see the eagle in a dove. It would be akin to arguing why does one yell out in one's own language when suddenly and greviously hurt and not in some other language ? Or for that matter why does one ask for one's own mother when in pain and why not somebody else's mother? If the above two posers are ridiculous I would argue that it is equally ridiculous to ask why one says 'Jai Bajrang Bali' or 'Allaho Akbar'. It is not just the slogans which make one parochial.

There is yet a third tribe of people which create difficulties in the study of the freedom struggle in Kashmir. And when I say this I have in mind people like Mehr Chand Mahajan, Bhagwan Singh, Prem Nath Bazaz, etc. In indulging in quasi journalistic writings as they do they pass off great disrepute to the professional historian. But then I would say professional historians themselves are to be blamed for this by passing this exercise on to them by default.

It is about time the professional historian started doing what all along was his job any way. For this an identification of the proper sources would be an obvious desiderate. The fact that no official documents after 1924 are available for consultation in the Archives is not exactly helping. There may be reasons for this and let us try to explore what else is available.

I am afraid the lookout on the other scores is also not too

bright as several records were destroyed by the Maharaja and indeed what little is extant is still closed. It would appear a hopeless task if it were not for the fact that historical analysis can take recourse to various research strategies where this form of situation prevails. If it is any consolation, a similar though not equally virulent situation, exists for other regional histories. It is reported that in the month of July-August 1947 there was a bonfire at the backyard of the then Imperial Archives in Delhi which lasted for several days in which thousands of records were destroyed. The same happened in Archives of Patna, Allahabad. So I might say that this paucity of evidence should not come as entirely a surprise for the historian.

This problem is soluble and there comes to my mind Van Jansina's excellent model for using memory and recollections for reconstruction of history. He has put this across in his book Oral History. It has been tried with success in some of other regions of the country, with reasonable success. However, there is an urgent need for expediting this form of collection through interviews and questionnaires as the generation of the freedom fighters is a passing generation. Each day lost may mean the loss of one more resource person.

The methodological problems in the study of the freedom struggle can also be tackled by the use of folklore, literature, travelogues and house journals where they exist. This would help us in identifying the local movements of dissent and protest and see how they got transformed into the struggle for freedom. For the pattern of the freedom struggle in many parts of the nation is the same. First there was local unrest and then a leader helped transform its character by raising wider issues and subsuming it under wider solidarity symbols. It is here that the study of the personality of the Sheikh would appear critical to the understanding of the whole process.

He seemed to have grasped clearly that there was little difference between the happening in British India and Princely India if local indigenous population was still left as a dumb witness. Indeed even the half-hearted attempts at legislature formation which took place in British India were not available to the population of princely states in the same form. Glancy Commission's report in this connection is significant. Sheikh appears to have accepted the argument that a struggle against the feudal

order in the State which was propped by the colonial power would really mean two revolutions rolled in one. On one hand it would mean the overthrow of the 'old order' or as the students of history would say 'the ancient regime' and the other the achievement of national independence.

To widen the source base I would like to suggest the use of the Pattas of Mosques, Nikah Nama, Church Records, Motiffs of Art, records of business houses, etc. This would help in solving some of the problems related to the identification of sources for the study of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir.

It should be remembered that a great history is the history of the energy resources which a given people have. Cultures are born, grown and perish as per their energy resources and people get vanquished or conquer in terms of the energy resources at their disposal. The history of freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir can be no exception to this. In a land of inadequate past communication, insufficient use of its energy potential, freedom struggle will have a different profile to that in the river valleys or the coastal plains.

Talking of problems in the study of freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir I feel we should indulge in the exercise with purged mind. There is a grave danger of the yardstick being used in the study of forces in British India being applied to Princely India whether it be A.R. Desai's 'Social basis of Indian Nationalism' or the writings of Anil Seal or Broomfield the categories used by those authors would not be usable in Jammu and Kashmir. Desai for example uses the education of people as a critical factor. Seal talks of legislative process and Broomfield sees nationalism terms of elite conflict. It seems to me that all these have little relevance to the scene in this State where a humble, weather beaten people, comparatively unexposed to English system of education waged a heroic struggle at two levels—feudal order and the shadow of the colonial situation —without the fanfare and propaganda of journalists reporting, pamphlets being distributed and the symbolic attempts to hoist down the Union Jack and set on the flag pole the tri-colour.

The period between July 1931 and May 1946 movement of Quit Kashmir seems seminal to me and deserves an indepth analysis. The corners appear to be turned in June 1939 when

All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference got branched into All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference led by the Sheikh and All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference led by Khwaja Ghulam Abbas. It is significant that the Indian National Congress and Nehru went with the National Conference and Jinnah most significantly in 1943 tried to woo the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

The occasion and decision of this State to merge with the Union of India was the logical culmination of the evolutionary steps initiated much earlier and not the gift of a Maharaja in distress and need of help. The documents in this connection as we have seen are fragmentary and comparatively inaccessible. I would like however in the end to make a brief reference to Allen Campbell Johnson's book 'Mission with Mountbatten'. Johnson states that Mountbatten advised the Maharaja in closing weeks of the colonial rule not to make a declaration of independence but to join one Dominion or the other by August 14, 1947 after finding out the will of the people. And what is important assured him on the authority of Sardar Patel that if his decision was to throw his lot with Pakistan and join them in advance of transfer of power it would not be regarded as an unfriendly act by India. This whole episode is significant and the activities of the freedom fighters in this State played a definite role in this State taking the line of growth which they did.

I have already talked long and would not like to take more of your time on this but would like to conclude by making a plea for the study of indigenous styles of management of society and economy as well as a study of leadership styles to have a cue to the unravelling of the problems in the study of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir.

Several learned papers are to follow and I am quite sure some of the other issues related to the study of freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir will have to be taken up by the various scholars here and also others interested in the subject beyond the natural limits of a seminar like this. Indeed some of them will need in-depth research by historians singly or collectively. Among such problems would also number the nature of sub-regional contribution to freedom struggle in State and the inter-relationships of such contribution. What for example did the Jammu or Ladakh or the Kashmir region contribute ? How did they

co-relate with one another? What was the nature of the Dogra rule. Attention will also have to be paid to the image of political ideologies in the State exemplified by the emergence of left-inclined political pamphlets like Naya Kashmir. The role of kinship groups will have to be analysed for example the role of the Kashmiri Pandits. Studies will have to be made of the strategies and styles of group composing the broader movement towards independence. It is only then that the form and content of movement with all its strengths and weaknesses shall emerge. There were links which some people of this region had with revolutionaries in the rest of the sub-continent in general and Bhagat Singh's party in particular. What was the strength of the middle classes in this region and their role in the freedom struggle number among the other questions.

The range is wide, fascinating and complex. The Seminar would have, to my mind, served its purpose if it helps to focus attention on the nature of these problems in professional fashion. The organisers of the Seminar need to be congratulated for having dared to dare.

# 2

# *Problems of the Study of Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir : I*

BHAGWAN DAS GUPTA

The freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir is inseparably linked up with Sheikh Abdullah, who founded the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in 1932 and about seven years later organised the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in 1939, which since its inception has been entirely democratic and secular in character. The freedom movement in Kashmir gathered momentum under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference became a constituent of the All India States People Conference. The freedom movement led by National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir acquired additional significance by the fact that the vast majority of the people was Muslim while the ruler and his family were Hindus. It was not the communal movement of the Muslims against a Hindu ruler, but a secular and democratic movement of the ruled—both Hindus and Muslims—against the oppressive and the hated ruler. The movement grew apace side by side with the Indian National Movement and finally culminated in the "Quit Kashmir" movement[1] which put the leaders of National Conference behind the bars. This so enraged Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he at once proceeded to Kashmir with Asaf Ali, for as Mahatma Gandhi said, "He did not want to let the workers in Kashmir feel that they were

neglected.[2] Besides, Nehru was a staunch supporter of the States People Movement and it was under his presidentship that All India States People Conference at Udaipur (Dec. 1945) adopted the goal of attainment by peaceful and legitimate means, of full responsible government by the people of the States as integral part of a free and federated India.[3]

Nehru and Asaf Ali were stopped at Uri and detained. However Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who was the President of the Indian National Congress, intervened and pressed Pandit Nehru to return on the assurance that he would himself take up the matter and "work for the release of Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues".[4]

Mahatma Gandhi himself visited Srinagar in between 1st and 4th August 1947, though apparently in fulfilment of a promise made earlier, but in reality to take an assessment of the situation. His biographer Mr. D.G. Tendulkar records : "All kinds of people who came to see him were unanimous in asking for the release of Sheikh Abdullah and other leaders.[5] On the 4th August a deputation of students and workers met Gandhiji at Jammu and asked him, "India will be free on August 15 what of Kashmir?" He replied, "That will depend on the people of Kashmir".[6]

The succession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan was still undecided when the Independence was ushered in on the 15th August 1947. The Pakistan leaders were only too anxious to secure the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan as they argued that the population of Kashmir was overwhelmingly Muslim. It was 77.1 per cent according to 1941 census. The strategic position of Kashmir and its mineral and economic resources were the other inducements. Then, they also feared that, "The incorporation of this State in the Indian Union would undermine the very foundations on which Pakistan was established and therefore create an undesirable precedent".

But Hari Singh, the Maharaja of Kashmir, was against the accession to Pakistan. His "opposition to the incorporation of Kashmir into Pakistan was due, on the one hand to his close economic relations with Indian monopoly capital, and on the other to his dissatisfaction with the anti-Hindu, pro-Muslim regime which had been established in Pakistan".

The tribal invasion of Kashmir in October 1947 at the

instigation of Pakistan and with its active assistance, forced the issues. The people of Kashmir irrespective of their religion, rose as one man to defend their homes and hearths against the invaders, under the leaders of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues had already been released on the 29th September. The State of Jammu and Kashmir formally joined the Indian Union on the 26th October 1947 and an interim government, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah was formed to run the State.[7] Sheikh Abdullah had then declared in a statement :

> ....."In Kashmir we want a people's Government. We want a government which will give equal rights and equal opportunities to all men, irrespective of caste and creed. The Kashmir Government will not be the government of any one community. It will be a joint government of the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. That is what I am fighting for".[8]

Thus under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, who represents "the people of Kashmir and Jammu, not merely the Muslims, but the whole of people",[9] Kashmir became the inspiring symbol of the secular and democratic India. The Sheikh, despite all that has happened in the intervening period, still has his commitment to heart, and nothing has shaken his faith in the firm resolve that future of Kashmir lies with India and that a secular Jammu and Kashmir would be nothing short of a beacon light which would guide the nation in times of strain and stress.

**The Problems of the Study of the Movement**

This hurried survey of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir would enable us to determine with some accuracy the problems which scholars may face in the study. To me it appears that the main problem is not the dearth of the material, but the scattered nature of the sources which are spread over an extensive area. This makes access to them difficult and puts many of them out of the reach of an average scholar with limited means. Though numerous publications on the history and the freedom movement of Jammu and Kashmir have come

out in the last thirty years, there remains much still to be done and the following sources would have to be tapped to the full in order to deal exhaustively with the subject:

1. State papers of the Jammu and Kashmir Government available in the regional and divisional archives.
2. Personal and individual collections of documents, letters and narratives etc.
3. Views and statements from persons who actually participated in the movement or were witness to its different phases.
4. Reports of regional and local newspapers and periodicals.
5. Records and papers of the national and regional political parties.
6. Documents available in the government archives of India and Pakistan and at the India Office London.
7. Parliamentary reports and the proceedings of the State Legislative Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir.
8. U.N.O. reports relating to the proceedings on the case of Kashmir.
9. Reports, editorials and articles published in the prominent newspapers and journals of India, Pakistan, England, Russia and the United States of America, having a bearing on the subject.

Thus the compilation of the source material and writing of the history of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir, complete in all details, would be a colossal task. It would require an army of dedicated scholars and would entail huge expenses over a long range of time. The scholars, who would be undertaking such a study, will have to be trained in the latest modern methods of investigation and research. They would also require a long practice in sifting and arranging the available material. Its evaluation and interpretation too would pose many a problem. Regionalism, prejudices of caste and creed and the partisan spirit would have to be overcome with determined efforts, and national, democratic and secular outlook inculcated. These in brief, are the problems of the study of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir which should be

tackled dispassionately, with patience, perseverence, foresight and great resourcefulness.

## NOTES

1. It demanded the end of the autocratic rule of the Maharaja and self-government to the people.
   (*India Wins Freedom*, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad p. 148).
2. *Mahatma*, D.G. Tendulkar, Vol. VIII, p. 66.
3. *India To-day*, R. Palme Dutt (1947) p. 367, also *History of Freedom Movement in India*. Tara Chand, Vol. IV, p. 536; Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru (1962) p. 530-33.
4. *India Wins Freedom* (Azad) p. 149.
5. *Mahatma* Vol. VIII, p. 67.
6. *Ibid.*
7. The accession was agreed to by the Government of India as both the Maharaja (Hari Singh) and Sheikh Abdullah speaking for the people of Kashmir and Jammu desired it. (*Mahatma* Vol. VIII, p. 182).
8. People's Age. 26 Oct. 1947.
9. *Mahatma* Vol. VIII, p. 182. Lord Birdwood's Two Nations and Kashmir, p. 58.

# 3

# *Problems of the Study of Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir: II*

BALRAJ PURI

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was one of the fiercest battle fronts of India's freedom movement. Why was the battle so fierce in a State that was far ahead of other princely States of the country in constitutional reform ? Because the prince was alienated from his subjects ? Was this alienation due to the fact that he was a Hindu while majority of his subjects were Muslims ? But why were Muslims of Jammu region alienated from the National Conference which spearheaded the anti-Maharaja movement in the State ? Because its leadership belonged to Kashmir and the Maharaja belonged to Jammu ? What were special features of the freedom movement in the two principal regions of the State ? How far one reinforced or inhibited the other ? Why was freedom struggle got retarded in Jammu though it originated there and was a direct extension of the national movement ? Why did Hindu leadership of Jammu opposed accession of the State to India in 1947 ? In what form religion, region, class and national sentiments influenced one another—in a positive or negative manner ?

Why did the revolt against the Maharaja in Kashmir Valley start under a religious banner ? How did changing relations between the ruler and the imperial power affect the political movement in the State ? Why did the Muslim Conference which

started the revolt drift away from the Muslim League and convert itself into the National Conference thus coming closer to the Congress ? How far geohistorical factors and cultural heritage of Kashmir influenced the process ? And how was it influenced by the character of the League and the Congress ? What was the precise degree of affinity and dissimilarity between the freedom struggle in Kashmir and the national movement ? Why did not the Quit India movement of 1942 have any significant response in Kashmir Valley ? Why did the Muslim majority of Kashmir reject the philosophy of Pakistan ? Why did the National Conference—so closely linked with the Congress—not accept the concept of a united India either ? Why did it instead respond to the CPI thesis of right of self-determination of all nationalities of the sub-continent ? How far ideologies of Marxism and Radical Humanism influenced or rationalized the character of the Kashmir movement ?

When did the freedom struggle start in the State ? But what is the concept of freedom struggle. If it means struggle against tyranny can it have any beginning or an end ? For does not tyranny, which is as old as the society itself has the tendency of recurring again and again ?

Does it mean struggle against an alien ruler ? But what does "alien" mean ? A ruler who is from outside the country, or the State or the region ? When did Kashmir lose its freedom ? In 1586 when Akbar annexed it as a part of Mughal empire of India as the official historians of the State believe ? Did slavery of other regions of the country also start from the dates they were subjugated by the central authority ? Can the regional struggle of the Valley be called the freedom struggle of the entire State, including Jammu and Ladakh ? If freedom struggle in the Valley start in 1586, did it really end in 1947 when it became part of the Indian Republic, albeit willingly ? How far was the Mughal empire more repulsive to the people of Kashmir than is Indian Republic, taking into account changed concept of freedom and changes in the democratic aspirations of the people ?

Or the freedom struggle in the State start in 1846 when it came into being ? But was Maharaja Gulab Singh, who acquired the right to rule over Kashmir in that year from the British under the Treaty of Amritsar, really alien to the whole State ?

If a region loses its freedom when ruled by an outsider, did Jammu ever lose its freedom ? Did the battle cry of the Kashmir freedom movement—for abrogation of Amritsar Treaty—not imply right of the ruler to perpetuate its rule over Jammu ?

If the concept of freedom that inspired the first mass upsurge in the Valley in 1931 had its logical culmination in 1938, when Muslim Conference became National Conference, and 1947, when the State acceded to the Indian Union, was not 1953—when the urge of Kashmir's autonomy re-asserted itself—a further extension of the same logic ?

Why historians and students of the struggle for freedom in Jammu and Kashmir do not address themselves to these and related questions ?

# 4

# *Freedom Struggle : A Personal Observation*

GHWASHA LAL KAUL

The freedom struggle in Kashmir started as far back as 16th century. The unarmed Kashmiris never accepted foreign rule for too long. They invited one foreign power to fight another foreign power. The Moghals, the Pathans and the Sikhs came with the connivance of the local population. When Gulab Singh entered Srinagar he was also given a fight and but for intervention by British troops he would have run back.

The freedom struggle actually started in Kashmir in 1924 in which local people rose in rebellion. The labourers of Silk Factory assembled in Hazari Bagh in defiance. They were dispersed by cavalry regiment. Simultaneous disturbance at Anantnag was also quietened. One Tehsildar was dismissed and his Jagir confiscated while another person was deposted. They were reported to be the instigators of the revolt. There was again lull upto 1930.

The background of the uprising was economic as well as religious. In about 1820 the total revenue of the State was about rupees seventy five lakhs. Communication was scanty. Only one highway linked up Kashmir with the outside world, when tongas plied on it. In 1818 there were only two Government High Schools and one private High School. Unemployment was heinous. In a family of about five persons one member

earned a living and the rest were hangers-on. I myself knew people dying unemployed with grand children in their laps. In some families one shoe and one blanket seemed all purposes —"a cap by night and a stocking all the day". Cholera and small-pox took away about 50,000 to 70,000 souls every year. There was no freedom of press or platform. Army was manned by Dogras and civil administration was run by non-mulkis. Sir Albion Banerjee, Prime Minister, was right when he said that "people were hewers of wood, drawers of water and tillers of land—a dumb driven cattle". It is only in 1927 when State subjects' definition was passed that some people started getting lo v Government jobs. Food stuffs sold cheap because purchasing capacity was very limited. A number of mosques were under Government control and this was resented by Muslims. State was the owner of all land and in cities it was only possession that was sold and bought. Between 1924 and 1930 political thinking was coated by a few educated persons by writings in outside papers.

It was in 1930 that Sh. Mohd. Abdullah resigned a teacher's job and came out in open to challenge the Government. To start with he used mosques as his platform. His sincerity drove people towards him. The final blow was given on 13th July when people attacked the Central Jail where trial of one Abdul Qadir was being held. About nine persons were killed in police firing. Seven persons were arrested and put in Haiparbat Fort. Thenceforward started processions, meetings, hartals and what not. There was no town which did not witness an uprising which was combated by martial law and police firings. Hundreds gave their lives. Flogging and punitive tax became common. Hartals were a common feature. Commissions were appointed one after the other under the chairmanship of Middleton, Barjore Dalal and B.J. Glancy respectively. What actually happened was enquired into and grievances were heard. The Government at last yielded to pressures. Press and platform was made free, mosques were restored back. Recruitment to services was liberalised. Proprietorship of land was recognised. An assembly was granted. Qualified franchise was conceded. The demand for full responsible Government became their slogan of the day.

The movement was communal from 1930 to 1938. It must

be confessed that while all Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were downtrodden. Muslims suffered worse. Their uplift was the first concern of Sh. Mohd. Abdullah. The policy of divide and rule adopted in British India was also introduced here. The Hindus and Sikhs sided with the Government. If they suffered at Vicharnag or Maharajgunj in 1931 it was because of their hostile attitude. In spite of them the movement grew in volume. Qadianis, Ahrars and Khaksars also came into help the movement to go up. Congress and Muslim League did not stand neutral. In the meanwhile outside contacts broadened the vision of Sh. Mohd. Abdullah and finally in 1938 he converted the Muslim Conference into National Conference, and invited all non-Muslims to join the National Conference. Since that day he has stuck to his guns, inspite of great opposition from his workers. Except a few individuals Dogras remained aloof.

From 1924—1930 the following men contributed to political awakening by their writings in outside press :

(a) Shankar Lal Kaul (Kashmirians)
(b) The writer (Kashmir Sewak),
(c) Prem Nath Bazaz.

From 1930 onwards the pioneers of the movement led by Sh. Mohd. Abdullah were :

(a) G.M. Bakhshi;
(b) G.N. Gilkar;
(c) Mufti Jalal Din;
(d) Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg;
(e) Ghulam Mohd. Sadiq;
(f) Ghulam Abbas;
(g) Sardar Budh Singh, and
(h) Alla Rakha Sagar.

In 1938 the movement took another phase which ended in 'Quit Kashmir' slogan.

*Raja Hari Kishan Kaul was the Prime Minister who faced the rebellion. He also witnessed a *Narchus paltan* and was responsible for cleavage between M. Yusuf Shah & Sheikh

Abdullah. Raja Hari Kishan Kaul was recommended by the British Government. He had the deputation of being a strong man. He had to please both, the present employer and his British masters. The leader of the movement was also a hard nut to crack.

Narchus in Kashmiri means the fishing rod. Since military service was banned for Kashmiris and they could not keep arms they assembled at Khanyas with *Narchus* and axes to fight the Dogra army which was displayed during disturbances since 13th July.

**P.S.**

According to my analysis of the entire Freedom Struggle the movement is to be divided into three phases. One—from 1924 to 1930; two—1930 to 1938, three 1938 to 1947. The first phase was the outcome of modern education and organised labour seeking restoration of rights, the second was inspired by awakening in British India asking for responsible Government and the third was a combined nationalist stir which led to Quit Kashmir movement while the first phase was restricted the second and the third were widespread. Apart from Srinagar there is no town and big village where there was not clash between the mob and the police or military, collection of punitive tax, whipping and firing on meetings and processions. The exact record of taxes collected, properties auctioned, killings, arrests, sentences awarded from town to town and village to village is not available. The record available from Muslim Conference for 1930—1938 is not complete and that from National Conference for 1938—1947 is also not adequate. This is a subject for research and such research is not possible without help from an organisation or government. The account which is passing to history must be sifted.

Authors and Books I have consulted are :

(1) Cunningham's history of Sikhs;
(2) Valley of Kashmir by W. Lawrence;
(3) Kashmir by G.M.D. Singh;

(4) Guldasti Kashmir by Hargopal Kaul;
(5) Tarikh Kashmir by Mohd. Din Foqi;
(6) Kashmir in Sunlight & Shade by C.E.T. Biscoe;
(7) Inside Kashmir by P.N. Bazaz;
(8) The Kashmir Struggle by G.S. Raghvan.

# 5

# *Political Perspective of the Freedom Movement in Jammu and Kashmir*

J.L.K. JALALI

Since the subject of the Paper is 'defined', the author of this paper has with all the implications and side issued involved tried to steer clear of the scholarly Scylls and the parochial Charybdis, and given his own observations and impressions on what is styled as "Struggle for Freedom" but which in fact is a "Struggle for Responsible Government". The author would like to treat the subject from this point of view and analyse it in the light of the experience he has had, as the oldest political thinker and political fighter of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The political fight of the author began in fact in 1918, and notwithstanding the official vestment he has had to wear for a number of years, he has been not only a consistent political fighter, but in one way or the other he has had to take part in the fight and be tabooed.[1] To the youth of today it might sound more of an oxymoron, a political contradiction ; and they will be right because their conception of leadership, of political fight has a different hue from what it should ordinarily have not only in the limited ambit of this State, but in the wider field of India and the world.

It is not an unusual custom to quote authors, authorities, writers of repute for any term used, for any thought expressed and for any statement made. Our very thinking, including

political thinking, has been governed and influenced by the thinking of the Westerners, especially the British, and later, Americans, French, Russians and German and others. But mainly the British are responsible for our general behaviour of thinking on political and other matter. This thinking underwent modifications in the context of the Indian struggle for freedom, from the very yoke of those Britishers whose continued domination had emasculated us for centuries and tried to repress the very concept of patriotism in us. But as Shakespeare would say :

> There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough how them how we may.

And that Divinity, whom I call TIME (KALA) brought about a change, threw up an impeccable leader, an embodiment of truth, non-violence, self-sacrifice, and self-abnegation, who fought and fought, interminably, until the goal was reached, the objective attained. That was a real struggle for freedom from the foreign yoke, from the foreign domination, from the foreign exploitation, from the foreign apartheid, from the foreign emasculation and degradation, in short, from foreign influence of debasement enveloping our very existence, individual existence, social existence, our national existence. Happily that is all over and we have to be thankful to that Almighty God, who has made us whole once again, though with a bruise here and a hurt there.

Kashmir, and for the matter of that the State of Jammu and Kashmir, has always been a part and parcel of India. Kashmir was independent and had its own rulers, though foreigners made a hash of it by their thoughtless invasions, depredations and political behaviour. The year 1846 A.D. brought about an unexpected change, that on the conclusion of the First Sikh War, Kashmir was wrested from the Lahore Durbar, and then handed over for one[2] million sterling or 75 lakhs of rupees to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to form along with other divisions of Gilgit and Ladhak one State of Jammu and Kashmir, and the Raja became the Maharaja of "Jammu va Kashmir va Tibet ha". And since then our common fate was controlled by the Dogra monarchy for one hundred and one years whatever the

rises and falls, ups and downs, smooth and ruffed sailings we have had. Jammu had the satisfaction that it was the Dogra monarch who was governing and ruling the whole of the State, but all the same there was dissatisfaction among other sections that they were not on par with the section of the community or the class to which the ruler belonged. In Kashmir the feeling was that the ruler was a non-Kashmiri Maharaja, and the non-Kashmiris dominated the Kashmiris in every walk of life, of socio-economic existence, of their very political existence.

Whatever the regrets the Britishers, civil and military officers and others, had on transfer of Kashmir to the Dogra monarch, Kashmir's fate was intertwined with that of the other parts of the State, and its future lay on the same path as that of the other constituents. The Muslim rule in Kashmir had replaced the Hindu kingship of thousands of years old in the middle of the 14th century, and for over 450 years the Muslims, mostly foreigners had come to hold sway over the people of the land. It had not all been smooth sailing. Fanaticism, proselytisation, cultural effacement, rapacity, intolerance with the proverbial exception of the great king, Budshah, had ebbed and flowed, but the revival of the non-Muslim rule with the entry of the Sikhs invited on the analogy of Sarfi and Khaki by a deputation headed by Birbal Dhar, made no palpable change or did not effect any noticeable improvement, for the memory of the past could not be easily wiped off the memory of the rulers and the ruled. With the coming of the Dogras, stability seemed once again come to roost.

Maharaja Gulab Singh tried to and did by and by understand the political significance of this transfer and agglomeration of the State. The British dissidents continued raking trouble, and at times resorted to the not usual trick of inciting the Muslims against him, but without success.[3] He outplayed the cunning British wizards, and during his life-time planted his son, Ranbir Singh on the gaddi, and himself agreed to become a Governor of one of the two provinces. The British Government had after three months of investitute perforce to recognise Ranbir Singh as the Maharaja.[4] A plea was sought to poke the feathered nest—and it was the protection of Muslim interests in Kashmir. The Viceroy wanted to hurry up an interf erence, and would not rest content until the Home Government

had assured him that on the death of the Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the much-desired change would be effected. It had to wait. And in 1885 on the death of Ranbir Singh, his eldest son Mian Pratap Singh was by virtue of the Article 1 of the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846 as also the Code of Succession (Dastur-ul-Amal of Maharaja Ranbir Singh) installed as Maharaja of the State, and simultaneously the British Officer on Special Duty's status raised and converted into that of Resident in Kashmir, who apart from working as officer to look after the British and European visitors to Kashmir was entrusted with political powers to interfere in the State administration.[5]

Intriguing started, "Gilgit Wanted" was made the pleas. Mr. C. Plowden, the Resident in Kashmir, lost no time in enticing the two younger brothers of the Maharaja, and perfecting the silouhette. In 1877, during the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh the British Government had started surveying the frontier of Gilgit to construct a dyke against Russian intrusion into the North of India through Gilgit. Captain Biddulph was sent on special duty, and the Maharaja had apart from making his Wazir of Gilgit responsible written to his protege, the Mehtar of Chitral also similarly to make necessary arrangements for the Captain's safe and secure visit. The Captain had returned only a short while after. But Plowden's intrigue was far-reaching. In 1889 the Maharaja was "deposed" and a Council was set up wherein Maharaja's younger brothers Amar Singh and Ram Singh and two officers from British India Raja Suraj Koul and Mr. Bhag Ram were members, and the Resident in Kashmir was made the final "referee", with powers to annul any decision taken by the Council, or to sanction any appointment, or approve any item of expenditure. The Constitution of 1889 gave it a legal and constitutional sanctity and under it the Maharaja was a helpless figure-head, and the Damocles sword was made to hang over his head to implicate him in conspiracy with Russia against the British Government, should he deviate into "sanity to protect himself".[6] But with all this the plea of looking after the interests of the Muslims in Kashmir, which had originally been put forward for a change, was consigned to the dustbin, for there was no time to look into the normal civil issue when the frontier war had to be thrust and fought and Gilgit somehow brought under full control. The Biddulph mission was now

given a practical shape, and a Political Agency was established on the Gilgit frontier, wherein the so-called independent Chiefships of Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Chilas, Kuh, Ghizar, Ishkoman and Tanjir, were included, the Political Agent holding his office in Gilgit, where the Maharaja's representatives, the Wazir, also administered only three thousand square miles of the Frontier, leaving the rest of over fourteen thousand square miles to the Political Agent. The two divisions were called the settled districts and unsettled districts (in which the chiefships were conglomerated).

By slow degrees the Maharaja attained lost power. In 1905, the outgoing Viceroy, Lord Curzon, satisfied with the docility of the orthodox Maharaja Pratap Singh, bestowed a partial restoration of powers, and after the Imperial Coronation Darbar of 1911, wherein the Maharaja had offered his "Kashmir Gate"[7] to the Emperor and Empress of India as his tribute, the British Governor-General and Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, favoured him with another dose of powers, raising his civil list to some 66 thousand rupees a month. Since the State was directly "administered" by the Resident in Kashmir, there was no question of the people of Kashmir or that of the State being given anything in the shape of reforms, although Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 had bestowed the first instalment of self-government to the political institutions of corporate life in India. And himself the Maharaja could initiate no scheme, recommend no proposal, for unless the Resident, the Super-Controller wanted, the Maharaja had to play the "third fiddle" (if he ever could do that) and that too with the consent of his Council and then the almighty Resident, whoever he was.

The first world war somehow came to his rescue. A regular Budget had started being framed whenever the Resident wanted. No item of the sanctioned Budget could be given effect to unless and until the Resident was approached formally through the Chief Minister (who was the foreign minister also), and his approval obtained. And when the First Assistant to the Resident, like Sir B. J. Glancy of Kashmir fame, communicated his approval, the Darbar (Maharaja's Government) could take action thereon. The Maharaja could not sanction an increase of Re. 1/- in the house rent of an officer or a department, or award an increase of one rupee in the pay of a sweeper or a peon, without

the Resident in Kashmir's consent, even if it had been duly provided for in the Budget. The Budget[8] practice had come into vogue in the beginning of the nineties of the 19th century after the Kashmir Chilki rupee had been debased and replaced by the British rupee, and Kiernander had come as the first Accountant General to administer the accounts department of the State, where officers from outside the State had been posted and the local men were given petty post of Clerks (called auditors) with pays of Rs. 10/- —Rs. 20/- and the like. In these clerks the Saraswat Pandits from Kashmir did get a share because of preliminary educational qualifications, while for the Kashmiri Mussalman the door though open had to remain ajar for a long time until a qualified applicant put in his appearance and was admitted. Jammu people had no edge on the Kashmiris because the Head Office was located at Srinagar, and no branch or section thereof was working at Jammu, until the forties when some departmental work was done there. At the time of the Budget, the Accountant General used to move to Jammu for a couple of months with his Budget Staff and stay there until the Budget was framed, presented, discussed and passed by the Maharaja and his ministers during the winter season, when the darbar (Government) had moved down from Srinagar.

But there was one noticeable thing in the Ministry of the Maharaja. One of the four Ministers was usually a Muslim from the Punjab or the United Provinces. The Ministries normally were Chief Minister, Revenue Minister and a High Court Judge who being the only Judge of the State High Court was the Judicial Minister also. Not often, the Revenue Minister used to be a Muslim from outside, for there was no *Mulki* available then. The only instance of a local man, a Kashmir Hindu, was that of Rai Bahadur Pandit Radhakrishen Kaul Jalali, one of the authors who was the only High Court Judge in 1911-1913 and acted as the Judicial Minister also. The Muslim Ministers from outside were just like other Ministers only anxious to make the best use of their appointment to win the favour for themselves and jobs for their children and relations, along with big chunks of land either in freehold or on leasehold. The names of Nawab Maula Baksh (from U.P. who was the Home Minister of the State) Choudhry Khushi Mohammad, and Maqbul Hussian are names of no distant past. The Hindus of those days were Diwan

Amarnath, Raja Daljit Singh, Diwan Bishandas, Dr. A. Mitra, Narendranath Kaul Jalali (son of R.B. Radhakishen Kaul Jalali), and Major-General Janak Singh.

The world war ended in 1918. President Wilson's 14 points culminating with the Treaty of Versailles, brought about a new change. A League of Nations was set up. India which had participated in the war as a dependency was promised political reforms leading to Dominion Status by stages. But in the end got the Rawlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919, and then the Government of India Act, 1919, which brought into being a Membership for three Indians in the Viceroy's council and the first Law Member appointed was the Late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Diarchy was tried in the provinces. It failed and the Bapu, gave a clarion call for non-cooperation and boycott of foreign cloth with Khaddar spinning and weaving at and by the handlooms. (It will not be out of place to mention here that the author became the first spinner and Khaddarite in the State getting his Khaddar requirements from the All India Spinners' Association of Bombay. And when he succeeded in popularising the Khaddar, it was at his request that a branch of the A.I.S.A. was established in Srinagar in 1927-28, wherein the late Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad worked as a salesman which was subsequently responsible for earning him the title of "Ghulam Mohammad Gandhi".) For the Princes of India, the Government of India Act, 1919 got a recognition as a body, and they formed Narendra Mandal or Chamber of Princes where they could discuss their princely problems though with the Viceroy or his representative among them. But for our State it brought a full restoration to autonomous powers of the Maharaja after 32 years of appeals and beseechings, and then a Council form of administration in 1922, in which Raja (afterwards Maharaja) Hari Singh became the Senior and Foreign Member until his succession to the rulership of the State on the death of Pratap Singh in 1925 and the replacement of the Constitutional Council by the Ministerial form of Government in 1927.

So long as the Resident in Kashmir was the super-controller, the Muslim population of the State was appeased with long promises and pledges to improve their lot. But the British Government was clever enough to manage to keep its hands

clean, on the plea that they had to deal with a Hindu Prince. No sooner the Resident was shunted off, then the promise made in 1884 by the Home Government in their letter to the Viceroy, began to loom large and the Residents in Kashmir, whom the Maharaja Hari Singh, had displeased by stopping their easements while in office in Kashmir, combined to find a loophole. The Muslims of Kashmir headed by the two Mirwaizes of Jamia Masjid and Khanqah Maula, and a few other leaders like Messrs Sa'd-ud-din Shawl, Noor Shah etc. submitted a memorial of grievances to the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India, in 1924, for which after enquiry by a Committee, headed by Mr. B. J. Glancy, they were penalised, culminating in the externment of Mr. Shawl, who on the accession of Maharaja Hari Singh to the gaddi, were subsequently pardoned on tendering an apology, and the confiscation of jagirs withdrawn along with other forfeitures. What was this move ? Was it the beginning of Muslim leviathans' stirring from sleep or it was a manipulated design ? That very summer a sort of labour strike had come about in the Silk Factory of Kashmir, a Government owned undertaking, which had been tided over with tact and force. Why Sir B. J. Glancy have recommended punishment for the submission of a simple memorial is still un-understandable, when the demands were not only reasonable but harmless and sought no subversion of the Government. I can only say that because he was a man of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, he would not take the responsibility of making even one favourable recommendation, for in the political parlance of the British Government in India, "give the dog a bad name and hang him", was to be manufactured through some other means wherein the Britisher would not be a party but a "referee". The demands inter alia, were :

(i) the redress of the grievances of the Muslims in regard to their backwardness in education ;
(ii) paucity of Muslims in the services of the State both as officers and non-gazetted ranks ;
(iii) grant of proprietary rights in the agricultural land tilled by the peasants and the farmers in the villages ;
(iv) Abolition of the dreaded custom of *begar* (forced labour).

(v) Restoration of mosques in the occupation of the Government and used for non-religious purposes by them, particularly mosques like Pathar Masjid in Srinagar etc. etc.
(This mosque is now used for the office of the National Conference in Srinagar, and is called the Mujahid Manzil).

In this connection it would not be beside the point to say that apart from popularisation of education among the Muslim masses in the State, the main thrust was employment of the Muslim youth in the gazetted and non-gazetted services even though the standard of their qualifications was rather low. The demand for educated employment was made by the author as far back as in 1918, when a memorial, signed by over six dozen graduates and under-graduates including Muslims and Sikhs was submitted to the Governor-General and the Viceroy of India, when Daljit Singh was the Chief Minister of the State. Not satisfied with the tardy steps of the Government manned by non-Kashmiris the author had to resort to the importation of an English Weekly from Madras, India and Native States, wherein young men from Jammu and Kashmir ventilated their grievances which mainly pertained to their unemployment or preferential treatment accorded to the outsiders. On Raja Hari Singh's return from the first European tour, the author improvised a Kashmir and Jammu Youngmen's Association, which in their address of welcome demanded the redress of their grievances and conceding to their demands which in those days, almost sixty years back, mainly pertained to their employment after graduation or school education. Why this sort of demand became the corner-stone of youngmen's memorials, was due to the fact that the general economic condition of the people of the State then was at a very low ebb, and the young Matriculate, Intermediate or Graduate could not afford to indulge in the luxury of speculation of job-hunting with better prospects as today it is usually done. It had its reaction, and the "United India and Indian States" gave vent to the *mulki* and *non-mulki* restriction and reservation, a thing which in the bigger context of modern India and modern world has assumed a new hue. But the reaction then was instantaneous in as much as a State

Subject Definition Committee was set up in 1924 with General Janak Singh as its President, and Jam Satis (the author's pen-name) and other friends pursued the fight up to the last until in 1927 the definition was announced and gazetted (vice Minister-in-Waiting's order of 31st January, 1927), and what was not effected by the said order was given a practical shape by the special official and non-official Committee in 1930. And, in short, it was the awakening only for a given purpose, viz. removal of unemployment and side by side other developments took place.

As stated hereinabove, United India and Native Indian States was so to say "inaugurated" in the State by Jam Satis with the issue of 27th October, 1920, in which a demand had been made for a Representative Assembly, which was followed by another contribution "Reform Council in Kashmir" (vide 19th February 1921) of the same paper. This was indicative of the change in the political thinking of the youth whose main and only demand appeared in the beginning to be Employment. And this trend continued as evidenced by the pages of this Weekly which did a yeoman's service to the young men of the State in those days. It will be interesting to the young men and young women of today particularly the student community that the columns of this far-off journal contained articles on different activities of the State, educational, cultural, administrative and the like. In short, a movement had started which under divine dispensation had to wait until time came and the political events in India gave fillip to the pent-up feelings of the people, especially the educated youth in the form least expected. The author remembers that when the memorable day—13th of July, 1931, he was discussing with a young Muslim friend—a graduate clerk in his office, what they had decided in the meeting of the Fateh Kadal Reading Room and the friend was recounting the same demand of educated youths' employment, both of them were ignorant of what happened at the Srinagar jail and what sacrifice had been made.

Without encumbering the Paper with details of events that had taken place in between or the gruesome murder of a minor Pandit girl had been perpetrated a fortnight earlier the author would come direct to the days of the Muslim movement in the beginning of the thirties. This movement can in no case be called the Freedom Movement, for Kashmir was a part and

parcel of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and the ruler was a Hindu Dogra Rajput of Jammu. He was neither an 'alien' as some writers have described him purposely nor an alien imposition as subedar or governor representative of some invader conqueror like that of the Moghuls, Sikhs or Pathans, whose memories have been none too happy, in Kashmir. Secondly, when during the course of the movement it was acknowledged by the very leaders that the Maharaja was the ruler and that under his aegis they were prepared and willing to form a democratic government and treat him as the constitutional ruler, the question of Freedom is quite inconsistent. Again, had Kashmir separated from the rest of the State, and remained an independent State, independent of the Jammu ruler, there would have been some justification for this term. I would, therefore, call it a movement for responsible Government, and I am supported in this view by the very interpretation given to the Quit Kashmir call of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the agitator of 1946, now the Chief Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State, and not the Chief Minister of Kashmir *only*.

It is true the Muslims of the State numbered about 77 per cent of its population—the Jammu Muslims being much more sectorized than those of Kashmir Province which then included Muzaffarabad district also (now under Pakistan, forming a part of Azad Kashmir.....and the grievances put forward by them were real and genuine. These grievances emanated from the same Employment paucity and the demand for its immediate redress through better education and better machinery to make good the deficiency in service numbers and percentage. With this service demand, other demands were a natural corollary. The reasonable and considered view in the fast changing political conditions in India was that this grievance as also other complaints could be better redressed if and when the ruler conceded transfer of political power to the people, and himself agreed to remain as a constitutional ruler. Since the Maharaja was a Hindu Dogra, the Hindus of Jammu, with all the class dissatisfaction, would not rise against the Maharaja in a revolt, but ventilate their grievances through what was usually called "constitutional means". And so far as the Jammu Muslims were concerned, the author remembers how responsible

Muslims joined the Dogra Sabha in making demands constitutionally. The Hindus of Kashmir were a decided minority of less than two per cent, and for them the question of political existence was quite naturally subordinated to the question of economic existence, and though the first to raise their voices against the domination by the non-Kashmiri element in the Government as indicated above, had a strong conflict to battle with in raising their voices against the ruler even if they had felt the pinch acutest in view of their education, their contribution to the making of the State itself, by serving on a pittance of Rs. 4 or Rs. 10 a month, as Shajrakashes and Munsarims measuring the "Gangrian" heights of Baltistan[9] and Ladakh and Astore, apart from the role played as petty Moharrirs (and their number was very limited for non-Kashmiri clerks, and peons also were already imported along with the officers who were invariably outsiders to fill those posts) in giving a shape to and consolidating the departmental routine in a regularised form to enable administration to be conducted as and on a unified departmental system.

The only group or class that could as of a right fearlessly rise was the majority in both the Provinces and the frontiers of Gilgit and Ladakh who according to the census of 1941 totalled over 28 lakhs out of a population of 3,646 thousands. And that majority was the Muslims, though the Jammu Muslims had a decided advantage over the Kashmiri Muslims in as much as they were eligible for military service which was a taboo for the Kashmiris, Hindu and Muslim, both, they could not but join hands with and make a common cause when other demands mostly of Muslim characters had to be made. In this they were supported by the Muslims of the neighbouring province of the Punjab and the North West Frontier (now both under Pakistan) where the All India Kashmir Committee had, not without a purpose, improvised a united front for the rights and claims of the Muslims of the State. The Kashmiri Muslims had no such relations and connections with the Muslims of the Punjab but since their Valley of Kashmir was not only a Paradise on the Earth it occupied a strategic position on the Map of Asia, the support extended to the Jammu Muslims was widened to include them as well, for without a State movement, no revolt or attack on the citadel of power held by the Dogra Maharaja was

thinkable or possible.

Within the Kashmir itself, the product of the Islamia High School, Srinagar, found the portals of the Aligarh Muslim Oriental College unfastened, excepting of course for my class-fellow and friend, G.A. Ashai, and whoever had the opportunity and occasion to study and return with a Post-Graduate degree or diploma, had during the course of his stay there come across a new wave, the wave of political freedom in India, and naturally on return became conscious of the taboos and disadvantage and interdictions which he could no longer tolerate. And the first and foremost demand of these youngsters was "Employment" followed by other grievances and disabilities, voiced either singly or at the Fateh Kadal Reading Room, or during the evening religio-political sermons of the late Maulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil at Qalamdanpura. It is not out of any disregard that mention is made of these centres, but as a political student and observer, it would be a political omission for me not to make a reference to them after fifty years. And with the return of the first Muslim M.Sc. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah...Ashai was the first B.A. Honours, M.A., M.O.L. Munshi Fazil, Maulvi Fazil and legally qualified...from Aligarh, the youth movement among the Muslims, patronised by the two great Mirwaizes, and leaders like my friend elderly Sad-ud-din Shawl and others, made a start, and what followed is history now described by Muslim and non-Muslim writers in detail.

The educated Muslim youth were too few. The Muslim majority conscience had to be roused. Demand for services was a limited and class confined economic cry for a share in Power, and so could not be expected to seep down through the masses. A slogan had to be improvised that would have the desired effect. And when the two Mirwaizes joined and gave their blessings, without effort it erupted; "Nara Takbir, Allah-o-Akbar, Islam khatre mein." The cry resounded throughout the State, and the sleeping masses, rubbing their eyes, rose in unison to take up the refrain. And that won the day in the end. What happened, how the agitation developed proportions, became formidable movement, taking the communal colour in the beginning in which the Kashmiri Pandit, suffered in loot and killings in Srinagar or in Vicharnag because he was associated with the Hindu Maharaja, giving birth in 1932 to the

Muslim Conference of the State, is history. To recount it verbatim from a historical work or present it in new colours is nothing but rehashing of what has already been presented in an appropriate context. But what I and for the matter of that any one who has had a chance, an occasion to see and live through those memorable days with blood boiling for and against the agitation, then an anti-Maharaja and anti-Dogra rule agitation should not be ungrateful to the Lord Time, who brought about an unexpected change in the very political life of the State. Bapu Gandhiji had shown the way of going to jail, and inviting imprisonment, and the agitators, the leaders scrupulously followed the guidelines until the objective was attained.

In the twenties the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII) had come to India in 1922, and been received by the Indians with black flags and protests and demonstrations all over the country. Him had followed the Simon Commission and the Butler Committee. The latter was confined to the Indian Princes. Our Maharaja had demanded retrocession of Gilgit and removal of the anomaly of the Political Agent of Gilgit (working under the Resident in Kashmir) compelling the Maharaja's representative, the Wazir of Gilgit to present a *Nazar* (tribute) at the annual *darbar* (levee) along with other petty chiefs of Hunza and Nagar etc, the vassals of the Maharaja, and the like. The Royal Agricultural Commission appointed by the British Government had not cut much ice. The Simon Commission was formally announced in 1927 and composed as it was of all white members was boycotted by the Indians with cries of 'hai, hai' and demonstrations and protests amidst black flags and hartals and police firings. And in one of those firings and demonstrations the stalwart Lala Lajpat Rai had succumbed to the inhuman Britisher's police lathi. Our State could not remain unaffected. Even though the National Congress had succeeded in bringing into being an All States People Conference for want of a leader in our State, participation therein had to wait for a pretty long time until Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was made its President. At the moment our problem was State-confined, and it was between the Maharaja and the people.

The Muslim agitation, so far as I have seen, observed and

understood, was least expected by the Residency itself. It is true outside forces had been at work to somehow prod the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir into some sort of stir, even those elements were sceptical of a rising as it took place on the 13th of July, 1931. As stated here-in-above, I have my own rendering and interpretation. The demand of the young Muslims, the educated youth, had taken the form of a proper memorial to the Maharaja, which Mr. Wakefield and other Ministers had been wise enough to endorse, and it was in response to that that the Maharaja had commanded (Order No. 6 dated the 12th June 1931) that the Recruitment Board for Civil Services made "appointments to all grades to secure the adequate representation of the various communities in the services", and that it paid due regard "to the importance in the public interest of securing the lower paid services also a due proportion of the various communities in the State". But against this order a sort of silent non-Muslim protest started in Jammu, which only 27 days after circumstances intrigued in the wake of the "two unfortunate incidents which occurred recently in the Jammu city" conveying "that Islam is in danger", to make the Maharaja broadcast his "Message To His Beloved People" on 9th July 1931, in which apart from the fact that the Maharaja stated that he had "no desire whatever to suppress the legitimate requests and voice of my people whether expressed in writing or in speech" there were the following words which, according to my view undid the salutary effect of the 12th June Order.....". In regard to recruitment for the State services prior consideration is and shall always be given to the public interest and the obligation of maintaining the efficiency of the administration at the highest possible level can never be overlooked. There is also no desire to follow a *blind rule of percentages* for the various communities irrespective of considerations of qualifications and merit....." After 38 years I recollect the scene in Srinagar Exhibition Grounds where the Maharaja's proclamation was read out by Raizada Trilok Chand, the Governor and District Magistrate of Kashmir; and the Musalmans who had assembled to hear a conceding of their demands were highly disappointed especially when the major concession of 12th June had been withdrawn. Discontent there was already, it added fuel to the fire, which assumed conflagration proportions on the memor-

able 13th following.

I should not have expatiated on this subject, but as explained here-in-above, this demand of employment and throwing open of doors to the Muslim youth, especially the educated, for both higher and lower services was the keystone of the grievances and demands, its very denial or acceptance meant not a little in assuaging the cry. Islam in danger was the most apt slogan chosen, and it had its way, throughout the State, whether Jammu or Srinagar, Poonch or Muzaffarabad. The agitation brought about the appointment of a Grievances Enquiry Commission of non-officials under the same Mr. B. J. Glancy, who now acted as a "referee" and made recommendations with the approval of the Hindu and Muslim representative members. And those recommendations while releasing the Government-held mosques, and agreeing to some other ordinary demands regarding Kahcharai tax, sale of mutton on given days, forced labour (begar), etc. dealt at length with the recruitment of Muslims to different services in the State and fixed minimum qualifications needed for their eligibility. This was the first phase of the struggle. Though the Kashmiri Saraswats (called Kashmiri Pandits) were dissatisfied with this recommendation and started a Bread Movement (Roti Agitation)...[10]and they were not unjustified because the educated youth felt that their chances of absorption would be substantially affected and reduced and add to their vagrancy as members of the Public Wandering Department (PWD) as they would jocularly call it, since the State was neither industrially oriented nor the Foreign Government of India was interested to help the States to finance them for undertaking any job-producing projects.....the recommendation of the Reforms Conference bringing about a new democratic atmosphere as a consequence thereof, was very heartening. And only two years after, His Highness Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shree Maharaja Hari Singhji Bahadur, Inder Mahindar Sipar-i-Saltanat-i-Inglishia, Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir (and I may add, G.C.I.E., G.C.V.C., LL.D., C.S.I., etc ) was compelled to make a proclamation on the 17th of October 1934, to the chosen representatives with expressions of love and affection "we bear our beloved subjects" and asking them "to beware of impassioned utterances so much in vogue today", winding up thus : "With these words of counsel and

admonition, by which We hope to plant the feet of Our beloved subjects on the path of solid progress and achievement. We hereby declare this *Praja Sabha* (State Assembly) duly and well inaugurated and opened", with the prayer that the Dispenser of all Bounties may "bless your labours.....conducted in perfect harmony redound to the credit of our subjects whose first chosen representatives you are, and to the glory of our unique heritage and of the body politic".

This Praja Sabha made a beginning with a house of 75 members (39 Muslims and 36 non-Muslims) for the whole of the State, out of which there were only 33 elected members. Nobody was satisfied, but all the same it was the first of the Sphinx's riddles to be solved. One thing had been observed that just after the formation of the All Jammu and Kashmir State Muslim Conference under the Presidentship of Sheikh Abdullah, he had started giving a new turn to his speeches. It was the outcome of the impact the Indian political developments were having then on the princely states. And when the Praja Sabha was duly inaugurated and opened and began to function, a new spirit of comaraderio among the members of different regions and different communities also began to exhibit, which in course of time also helped the political rethinking of the Sheikh. Instead of confining himself to the demands and grievances of his brother Muslims, he would with the growth of his popularity among the masses broaden the ambit of his demands and ask for transfer of power to the people. In this not only some of his Muslim Conference colleagues but the Kashmiri Pandit representative, Premnath Bazaz, who at the time of the Roti Agitation had been disowned by the Pandits and had started an independent line of journalism, actively joined the Sheikh and with his "Kashmir Ka Gandhi" gave a fillip to this type of thinking in the Sheikh, in which the jointly started "Weekly Hamdard" proved a positive force. How it developed, how it ultimately took shape, is history. When this non-communal political thinking followed by similar platform speeches and utterances, gained momentum, the contact of the All India leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and others turned out to be infectious, in as much as the very Muslim Conference embarked on nationalising the demands and grievances, and converting

the same Muslim Conference into a National Conference. Initially the Muslims of Jammu and the Muslim Conference followers of Mirwaiz Usufshah felt a shock by this renegation of those very second line leaders whom the two Mirwaizes had given their blessings, and in the first encounter signed an agreement on the 26th of August 1931, as "Understanding between the Muslim subjects of Jammu and Kashmir and the Government"[11]. Mirwaiz Usufshah's name had appeared at the top followed by other nine representatives from Kashmir and Jammu. I do not subscribe to the view that the Jammu leaders Choudhry Ghulam Abbas and Mr. Gauhar Rahman had given up their stand, as some writers have started in their laborious volumes, for their very behaviour subsequently did not confirm and bear out that the Jammu Muslims thought and complacently dittoed the Kashmir Muslim leaders' decision to dissolve the Muslim Conference and create out of its ashes a wholly radiant body of glowing nationalism. If Mirwaiz Usufshah stood apart, he stuck upto the last and even suffered deportation, until he passed away at Rawalpindi after 25 years of exilement. Had not the Mirwaiz been banned re-entry, a political puzzle would have been made to develop a hard ring which in the uncertain "independence interregnum" of 70 days and thereafter might have caused a subterfuge and pampered anti-national forces, notwithstanding what the young leaders had achieved or were expecting to achieve and attain to. But the fates were kindly disposed, and the stars in the ascendant for this State in the wake of the Mother India's Freedom Movement and Independence.

The foundations for the National Paramountcy and conversion of the Muslim Conference into a National Conference by resolutions of the Conference itself, and organising a small beginning were laid. The National demand with "loyalty to His Highness' person" and throne being "unswerving and needing no mention" declared the "ultimate political goal of this movement the achievement of complete responsible government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur". It further declared that the movement was essentially a movement of peace and goodwill, and that their demands were modest, catalogued them as the growing menace of unemployment amongst the educated youngmen and the illiterate masses, and burden of

exorbitant land revenue, want of adequate modern medical assistance, miserable plight of labourers going out of the State, top heavy administration and the like. And to support this National demand the manifesto ended with these words : "The present system of administration in the State shall be replaced by responsible Government subject to the general control and residuary powers of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur....."

"The Ministry shall be responsible to the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature and shall have subject to such responsibility power to control the expenditure of the revenues of the State..... reserving for His Highness; (i) expenditure of the Military services; (ii) expenditure classed as political and foreign; (iii) payment of all debts and liabilities hitherto lawfully contracted by His Highness in Council on account of Government of Kashmir; and (iv) the Dharmarth Trust". The Manifesto wanted the Government to make an announcement at accepting these principles. It was signed by 12 persons among whom 5 were Kashmiri Pandits, 6 Muslims from Kashmir, and one Sikh from Jammu. No other Muslim or Hindu of Jammu had signed it. And to enforce this National demand the Muslim Conference-on-the way-to Nationalism started an agitation in 1938, when Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was the Prime Minister of the State.

It was now a National movement, and both Muslims and Hindus went to jail. Sardar Budh Singh, who, in the words of the Maharaja "had chosen to be a lunatic", followed suit, and with his spinning and khaddar programme welcomed the cell of confinement. Though there were non-Muslims, particularly of Jammu, still diffident about the bona fides of the National movement and its leaders, who had now overnight become staunch Nationalists with a secular outlook, from stauncher communalists of yesterday, the Nationalists started swelling its ranks, which finally encouraged the Muslim Conference leaders to re-christen it as "The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" in the footsteps of the All India National Congress, whose leaders and declared policy had been responsible for this out and out change of a communal organisation into a national one. And it would not be too much to say that for this the leader, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and his colleagues in the Muslim Conference were responsible.

N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was a wide-visioned Nationalist and a Congressite at heart. He could least toe the Maharaja's line if it did not take stock of the changing tide in the rest of India, or of the aspirations of the people in the State, even though the majority was Muslim. The National Conference was responsible for a break with the Muslims of Jammu, though Bhulam Abbas was said to have endorsed haltingly, the final decision on 11th June 1939 to bid adieu to the communal past and ring in a new era of nationalism with a secular outlook and socialistic aim. India was still in the throes of experimentation. The British Government had wavered. The Hitlerian War had shaken them miserably; had not the Americans come to their aid, the tables would have turned in favour of the Nazis and Fascists. The British Government was uneasy. President Roosevelt had sounded Churchill about India. An understanding with the Indian leaders was a *must*. The Congress had tried the Government of India Act of 1935, but after a while found it a drag in the pursuit of the struggle for Independence. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Prime Minister had succeeded in advising the Maharaja to make a little concession, as a result of which the elected element in the Praja Sabha was raised from 33 to 40. It satisfied the national leaders, and the National Conference offered cooperation to the Government of the State, and the authorities nay the Government itself were not unresponsive.

An atmosphere of understanding prevailed. The non-National Conferencites put all the blame upon Ayyangar, and when he reverted to British India, the "Deliverance Day" observed indicated that the Muslim Conference was once again struggling in Jammu to re-establish itself in alliance with the Mirwaiz of Kashmir. But circumstances had changed, and were changing every day with the restless change in India, where Quit India call had been given and a new reign of terror by the British Government had been let loose. Jammu and Kashmir was calm. It was because the Muslims of the Punjab had not joined the Quit India Agitation under the orders of the Muslim League of India which had held aloof from the National movement, mooted as it had in 1940, the demand for a separate Pakistan, as the homeland for the Muslims of India. The Sheikh and his colleagues were playing a cautious role. Their cooperation as

affirmed at the Sopore Session of the Conference, wherein All India leaders of top rank like Jawaharlal Nehru, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi and Abul Kalam Azad and others had participated, and the adoption of the Conference political Bible of New Kashmir, had convinced the Maharaja and his Government that it was time that a further token of goodwill might not be misplaced, but would prove fruitful, and the Maharaja declared that he would associate two Popular Ministers with his Government. Accordingly on 2nd October 1944 an Order was issued and published in the Government Gazette Extraordinary of 3rd October that "to give further effect to my policy of associating my subjects with the administration of the State..... I have decided to call upon the Praja Sabha to nominate a panel of six (three to be Muslims) of its Members, three from Jammu and three from Kashmir including the Frontier Districts". The official members were interdicted to take any part in this panel-nomination. The Maharaja was to "appoint two (one of whom will be a Muslim) as my Ministers". In consequence, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg from Kashmir, and Wazir Ganga Ram from Jammu were selected as two popular Ministers on a reduced salary of Rs. 1600/- P.M. as decided by the Assembly itself in contrast to Rs. 2500/- and more drawn by Maharaja's Ministers. It was a welcome step; it opened the way for the National Conference to enter the Governmental portals, and pave the path for its propaganda among the masses, overtly and covertly.

In the wake of the Quit India movement, there were brisk pourparlers, and deputations to India followed one after the other, the State Government with the two popular Ministers, taking the form of the Diarchy of the twenties, worked hand in glove, but as the Public Works Ministership entrusted to Mirza Afzal Beg did not satisfy the National Conference as any other portfolio would have, and as he had to ditto several decisions taken by the Government, which according to the National Conference ran counter to the declared policy of the Conference, a political clash was bound to take place. It was given out that he could not adjust himself with the Maharaja's Prime Minister, Mr. R.C. Kak, and so the only alternative was to resign on the call of the organisation that had sponsored him. But I think it was something else that had made him to

take this step. The British Government had fallen into the hands of the Labour and Mr. (later Earl) Clement Attlee had become the Prime Minister. He was determined to transfer power to the Indian hands. There was a tug in his mind whether he should try to transfer it to one undivided India or to two Indias, as the general view was. When the Cabinet Mission was announced to follow the Parliamentary delegation, the leader of the National Conference was advised by friends to strike the iron while it was hot, and for that he had to have all his colleagues by his side, Mr. Beg was therefore to be the 2nd lieutenant of the Sheikh so far as political part of the intended "jumping into the fire" was concerned. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was at best a "Salaar-i-Azam", a Khalid-i-Kashmir. The new movement was to go two steps further, and dismiss the constitutional ruler and aegis of the Maharaja as an improvisation to be replaced by a far-reaching and more effectively appealing tactical/political sleight of attacking the very basis of Kashmir's agglomeration with the rest of the state, and impugn the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846, and its validity so far as Kashmir and its people were concerned, and for that the most appropriate handle was the Quit Kashmir slogan forged on the anvil of Quit India of four years earlier.

It was merely a means to rouse the conscience of the people of Kashmir and thus the whole of the State, in consonance with the new political manipulations taking place in India. When read out of context, it was definitely sedition under the then law of the land. But when studied in the light of what the leader of the National Conference had told Mr. M.A. Jinnah in 1944 on his visit to Kashmir, unequivocal terms that the Kashmiris did not recognise the Muslim League's Two Nation Theory, nor subscribed to it, and that the fate of Kashmir was as such linked with the forces of secularism, socialism and non-communalism, the Quit Kashmir slogan was only a device to achieve responsible Government, with Maharaja as the constitutional ruler, if possible, or if not possible, without the Maharaja, for the time was ripe and any miss would land them into a long-drawn struggle with the princely ruler and his Government. I always took it so, even if the sponsors of and workers in the said movement did not and could not rightly explain it, except when a formal case was brought against the Sheikh and he was

charge-sheeted and the defence counsel, Mr. Asaf Ali had to explain the right implication of the slogan. Quit Kashmir could not mean Quit India, so long as the State of Jammu and Kashmir was one State, and the ruler was a Dogra of Jammu, who was as good a citizen of the State as any other including the slogan-raisers themselves, even if the Cabinet Mission was told on their visit to Kashmir in the spring of 1946 that in Kashmir "there was no will to remain under the present ruler". It would not be far from truth also if we say that the Maharaja's choice of Mian Ahmadyar as Popular Minister in place of Mirza Afzal Beg added fuel to the political fire. But that circumstances only made the resolve and the plan to strike stronger and firmer. The Quit Kashmir strategy was not a flash born in a moment but a well meditated and well calculated political thrust, which succeeded well in the end.

Sheikh Abdullah was sentenced, other leaders went underground, and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and G.M. Sadiq were seen in Lahore, meeting leaders, canvassing support for National Papers, and I as the Maharaja's representative at Lahore was watching how Bakshi was moving between Delhi and Lahore meeting Pandit Jawahar Lalji Nehru and consulting him at every step. Almost all the top-most Indian leaders were interested in the National Conference fight against the Maharaja, and Jawaharlal would go to the length of describing Srinagar as "the city of the dead" when the Maharaja's Police had fired and killed half a dozen persons or later when he was arrested and lodged at Uri Dak Bungalow. This sympathy and support of the Congress was a direct encouragement to the leader, Sheikh Abdullah, and his colleagues in fighting to the finish. And Time favoured him inasmuch as the British Government decided to withdraw from India, and transfer power to the Indians, though to the utter disappointment of Bapu not to one united India but to the two divisions of India, Bharat and Pakistan, the dream of Mr. Jinnah being fulfilled with Governor-Generalship assured to him.

This announcement of 3rd June 1947 changed the whole political hue of British India and the Princely States, inasmuch as on the formation of the two Dominions, the Princes who had once been pampered flunkeys of the British Raj and had been given to understand that on the lapsing of Paramountcy they

would become full-fledged independent rulers of their respective States, were disappointed and disillusioned to find that they had under circumstantial or geographical "compulsion" to accede to either of the Dominions. Sheikh Abdullah was still in jail and the Maharaja of Kashmir, being a Hindu, but ruling a Muslim majority State, found it difficult to choose unless he consulted his people. The Muslims, particularly those of Jammu wanted him to joining Pakistan or remain independent; but the majority of Muslims of Kashmir, constituting the three districts of Anantnag, Baramulla and Muzaffarabad, who were led by the National Conference, were in favour of joining the Dominion of India. The non-Muslims, who formed the minority were naturally in favour of India, and thus the Maharaja was on the horns of a dilemma as to how to solve the puzzle. For Lord Mountbatten to have complained that he should have accede to either of the Dominions before the 14th of August, which Maharaja Harisingh did not do and thus suffered, is not convincing. Had the Maharaja decided in favour of accession to India, the Muslims of Jammu, who claimed a majority of Muslim League-minded citizens, plus the Muslim Conference followers of Mir Waiz Usufshah, would have risen in revolt and created trouble, and it would have been easier to do for they had already been fighting the Maharaja long before the British Government's decision to transfer power. Had the Maharaja decided in favour of Pakistan, the Hindus, Sikhs and the National Conference Muslims would have raised the banner of revolt aloft and the Maharaja would have been forced down on to a bed of thorns. Hyderabad's Kasim Rizvi had ill-advised the Nizam and brought about a situation which was in the end responsible for Police Action and subsequent merger and disappearance of the State in Andhra State. Kashmir is still an independent State, as an integral part of the Union of India. Had Pakistan not hurried the Maharaja would have deliberated and then with the help of the Standstill Agreement bided time to resolve the tangle smoothly though it might have meant a period of time, say a few months after August 15, 1947.

The release of Sheikh Abdullah in the last week of September would have helped in the final resolution and decision to accede. But the departing Britishers, whose officers were still in India and Pakistan, would not rest content "until the Indians had

been taught a lesson". They miscalculated; but all the same egged Pakistan Quade-Azam to launch a frontal attack on India by invading Kashmir. It was not a bizarre attack, but a well planned regular Pakistan Army invasion under cover of a so-called tribal raid conducted by fanatic Muslims of the North-West Frontier stung to the quick by the "Islam in Danger", and "The Muslims of Kashmir being massacred by the Kafirs" propaganda, which was so well organised by a Kashmiri, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan, the Chief Minister of the Province with the blessings of the British Governor Cunnigham. And the Pakistan Government did win; for they annexed over 31,000 square miles of the Jammu and Kashmir, depriving it of one full Frontier of Gilgit and portions of the territories of the two provinces of Jammu and Kashmir including the Frontier of Ladakh. And what is now called the Azad Kashmir, is only composed of an area of a little over 4000 square miles..... constituting the district of Mirpur less 55 villages, the district of Muzaffarabad, less the portion of Uri and Karnah under our occupation, almost half of Poonch with Tehsils of Bagh and Sudhnoti..... the remaining comprising the Gilgit Frontier plus the Tehsil of Skardu (Baltistan) and part of Kargil Tehsil aggregating over 27 thousand square miles, which is directly controlled by the Pakistan Government, with a Political Resident now called Deputy Commissioner. The Gilgit frontier is strategically important inasmuch as the Chiefships of Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Ghizar, etc, are now controlled by the Government of Pakistan direct and have no British Resident in between to maintain the Paramountcy; and it is out of the Hunza district that the Pakistan Government has (according to our and India's stand) illegally transferred an area of 2000 square miles to the People's Republic of China in exchange for 750 sq. miles, while demarcating the boundaries between Pakistan and China. And today the 500-mile long Karakorum road built with the Chinese men and money connects Islamabad through Gilgit and Sinkiang with the capital of the Chinese Republic with free flow of traded goods from either side without any let or hindrance ....not the bonded goods of the Britisher's time when the manufactures of Liverpool and Manchester were thrust on Chinese Turkestan and transported from the centre of lading to the destination unchecked and uninterfered with and without the

knowledge of those very people through whose vast country these goods passed, and British Imperialism "opiated" its control over China and its people for decades.

It is sometimes asked : Could not the partition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir be avoided ? It is true that when in 1940 the Muslim League adopted the ideology of Pakistan under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah . . . . and with the covert support of the British Government in India . . . . . the letters of the term Pakistan indicated that they stood for a combination of different portions or areas of the Indian sub-continent. Because it was the Muslims of North India who were more interested in Pakistan, the letters clearly signified Punjab, northern areas, Kashmir, Baluchistan, etc. In other words, Kashmir (and not the State of Jammu and Kashmir) was a must as otherwise it could remain Pakistan. In order to somehow acquire this "K" for Pakistan, the plan of the Muslim League was that in case the Kashmiris did not accede to Pakistan, they must by hook or by crook manipulate annexation of Kashmir. When Bengal and Punjab was subsequently divided into East and West Bengal, and East and West Punjab, the acquisition of Kashmir gained momentum, and without waiting for the Maharaja's final decision the Pakistan overlords in their impatience set at nought the duly accepted standstill Agreement of the Maharaja, and bamboozled the world that it was not they but the Afridis of the North-West Frontier province who in religious sympathy with Kashmiri Muslims had marched through Pakistan (notwithstanding Pakistan's interdiction) and invaded Kashmir. It was all a hoax which later developments unmasked, but it was too late to undo the mischief done. My own impression is that when the Kashmir Question was under some miscalculation referred by India to the United Nations, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan persuaded the two Governments to agree to a cease-fire on 1st January 1949, some sort of understanding had been reached between the two Governments about the informal division of the State and the political fiat not to continue the military thrust into areas held in the State by Pakistan forces, confirmed this understanding, which as one can now clearly see has been responsible for Pakistan's consolidation of the areas illegally grabbed, and freely dispensing with or causing "material change" not-

withstanding the 17th January, 1948 Resolution of the Security Council. Pakistan authorities first of all constructed the Mangla Dam in the district of Mirpur, which submerged 122 villages and deprived a hundred thousand people "of their livelihood and citizenship rights" by migration to Pakistan for resettlement, and thus constituted "a violation of the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir, of the agreements between the Maharaja and the British Government" ; then transferred, as mentioned herein above, Kashmir territory out of Hunza district to the Chinese and demarcated the boundaries between the two countries of Pakistan and China ; and thereafter constructed the Karakoram Highway linking Gilgit with Sinkiang. In my view the partition of the State has come to stay, and no political jugglery is going to undo it. General Zia-ul-Haq's latest call that the non-settlement of the Kashmir Question is the stumbling block between India and Pakistan relations is only a repetition of the self-saving device to keep oneself in power and justify his political shifts from time to time. India knows that it cannot force its way into Pakistan and retake the Azad Kashmir or the Gilgit Frontier into its control back ; nor is the talk of easing the frontiers between our Kashmir and the Azad Kashmir going to transplant those Kashmiris or State subjects back into their lands and houses which they held before 1947, for the Government of Pakistan will never allow such a situation to come about, and dispense with what it has grabbed out of Kashmir. The die has been cast. Only political befooling continues. But How long ?

Before closing I think it would not be amiss to tell my friends here that if Pakistan overlords had not taken it into their head to invade our State resulting in its unhappy partition, or the Chinese under cover of Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai occupied a big chunk of about 40 thousand square kilometres, we should be having an undivided State of 2162,294 square kilometres (84,478 square miles) as of yore with all the four divisions of Kashmir, Ladakh, Gilgit and Jammu intact, under one unified Government in which the Muslims of Jammu would have been enjoying a substantial share, and there would have been no "Kashmir Problem" to bewail as General Zia-ul-Haq is heard lamenting. Our Constitution has still kept 25 seats open for that portion of the State which is under Pakistan's control. What

the future has in store is unknown. Transfer of power and grant of responsible Government by the Maharaja to the people would not have been delayed. But it had to wait until the immediate effect of the tribal invasion had been tided over, and normal conditions restored to enable the monarchical ruler to make a formal announcement in this behalf. It was by his Proclamation of 5th March, 1948, that Maharaja Hari Singh ended the Emergency Administration which he had to introduce on the first run towards popular government and appoint Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the Head of the Emergency Administration of 30th October, 1947. By this proclamation he announced a Council of Ministers and "by Royal Warrant appointed Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the Prime Minister with effect from today (5th March 1948). The Council of Ministers was required to convene a National Assembly based upon adult suffrage, and frame a Constitution providing "adequate safeguards for the minorities and contain appropriate provisions guaranteeing freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly". The Constitution was to be summitted for the Maharaja's "acceptance" through the Council of Ministers. One thing was noteworthy in this Proclamation that under para 3 of the same the Maharaja had forgotten his discrimination regarding Kashmiris, and given "once again a solemn assurance that all sections of my people will have opportunities of service, *both civil and military* (italics mine), solely on the basis of their merits and irrespective of creed or community."

On return of the Sheikh from New York, where he had gone with the Indian delegation to represent the Kashmir case before the Security Council, the first Cabinet was announced by the Maharaja under his Order of 17th March, 1948 (vide Government Gazette of 18 March, 1948), consisting of the following Ministers :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | G. M. Bakshi | ... | Home and Deputy Prime Minister. |
| 2. | Mirza Mohd, Afzal Beg | ... | Revenue Minister. |
| 3. | Sardar Budh Singh | ... | Health & Rehabilitation Minister. |
| 4. | G. M. Sadiq | ... | Development Minister. |
| 5. | S. L. Saraf | ... | Food and Supplies Minister. |

6. Girdharilal Dogra ... Finance Minister.
7. Col. Pir Mohammad Khan ... Education Minister.

With them he appointed Col. R. B. Thakore Baldev Singh Pathania as Dewan "with effect from 5th March on his existing emoluments", and ordered that "he will be a member of the Cabinet". When the Cabinet was sworn in by the Chief Justice of Jammu and Kashmir on the 18th of March, 1948, the transfer of power was complete and the strugglef or responsible Government came to an end, with the Maharaja as a Constitutional ruler of the State, as had been demanded by the leaders from time to time. We have not only achieved responsible Government, which is as yet a dream for our brethren in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, but we have become also the masters of our State, and notwithstanding Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, we are full citizens of India, and as such have to cultivate on people's level warm-hearted mutual relations with the people of other States, and re-establish what the Kashmiri poet Chakbust had uttered on his revisiting his land of birth, travelling in a tonga via the Jhelum Valley Road, about the hospitality of Kashmir : *Chape chape peh hai mera mihman-navaz Kashmir : rahmen pather ke tukaron ne diya pani mujhe* (At every interval my Kashmir was hospitable to me : its rocks and boulders offered me water while travelling).

I should have liked to proceed further and put down my impressions and observations for the information of the readers of today, who are not acquainted with all the developments but that would have been tantamount to writing a book instead of a Conference paper. I have, therefore, thought it fit to stop at the transfer of power, and our correct decision to accede to India. As citizens of the Jammu and Kashmir State, as citizens of India, it devolves on us that we give a correct lead to our children and impart to them the right type of education so as to make them patriotic, useful citizens, providing for them both physical and intellectual means of subsistence in an ample measure. We have not only to act as Proctors of our universities of Jammu and Kashmir but also of the Government itself and minutely watch that while lending our hand of full cooperation it is set on the right path in the best interest of the common man,

avoiding uneconomical and unproductive projects, wasteful expenditure, top-heavy administration, discriminative measures or sectional and communal laws and acts tending to create a sort of social insecurity and political uneasiness in the minorities and backward classes, and give rise to an impression that the Government is deftly taking advantage of Party power and sowing the seeds of future unrest and instability by its acts and deeds. And when we have done that and the Government has responded, the struggle for responsible Government will be deemed to have succeeded and succeeded well, making our ancient Kashmir, this land of saints and *fakirs*, the cynosure of global eyes, geographically, culturally, politically and otherwise.

With these words I take leave of you with the devout prayer that all of us may be happy, all of us may be free from all ills and evils, all of us may see the right and the beautiful, and that none of us be subjected to pain or unhappiness of any sort.
KALOHAM (I AM TIME) ! ! !

## NOTES

1. In 1952 at the time of the third Praja Parishad the author was externed and had to go out of the State for 3 or 4 months under Verbal Orders of the then Dy. Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, conveyed through the then D.I.G. Police, Saifuddin.
2. It is a meaningless controversy that this purchase money was not paid by Gulab Singh for there is no receipt available to that effect. This big sum was arranged through and paid by Diwan Jwala Sahai of Eminabad for which he was duly requested.
3. Hassan quotes, Taylor's deputation to report on complaints against Gulab Singh, but he had to go back disappointed.
4. The British Government were forced to depute a representative with a robe of honour and other paraphernalia for the new Maharaja—The Cashmere Raj and Hassan's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir Part II.*
5. The Resident took upon himself the powers of a Court to try cases of British and European residents and visitors, to Kashmir.
6. *Condemned Unheard*—By William Digby.
7. Files in State Archives.
8. The revenues of the State in S. 1949 (1892-93 A.D.) were Rs. 50 Lacs; in 1925 A.D. about Rs. 2 crores, in 1947 Rs. 2.75 crores. Today in 1978-79 they are Rs. 364.16 crores for divided state.
9. And my maternal uncle, Samsar Chand Zarabi (and then his brother Sarvanand Zarabi Rana) was one of the first Karkuns to

settle Baltistan and Ladakh; and when on the termination of the settlement he was thrown out of employment, he died of consumption in S. 1959 (January 1902).

10. Italics mine.
11. This agreement was countersigned as "approved" by Nawab Mehar Ali.

# 6

# *From Communal to National Politics : Kashmir during 1930-1940*

SYED JAMAL UDDIN

Kashmir politics during the 1930s and 1940s, happily presents a contrast to the politics in the other regions of India. Muslims were not swept by the communal tide in politics in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference became participants in the mainstream of nationalist politics. No doubt, communal politics was not killed. But the significance of the emergence of an equally powerful organization devoted to nationalist struggle cannot be exaggerated. This goes against the dominant belief with respect to politics in colonial India. This axiomatic belief contends that in the complex situation of India, communal politics inevitably mobilized Hindus and Muslims above the barricade. In Kashmir, however, an attempt was made, and to an extent a successful one, to steer clear from communal wooings and sectional demands.

The dilemma in Kashmir politics during the days of the Jammu and Kashmir struggle for independence is often identified with the particular situation in the State, the interests of the outside forces, the conflict of interests between the Hindus and the Muslims at various levels and finally the inevitable division of the political development into nationalist and communalist trends as the counterparts of the two trends in the sub-continent. An examination of these oft-repeated formulations is the

purpose of this modest paper.

The unfulfilled aspirations and ambitions of the Muslim middle class set off a movement which soon transformed into a struggle for independence. The movement for sometime remained confined to the Muslim community. But Sheikh Abdullah, the arch-builder of the movement realised the weakness of a communal organization. He eschewed communalism and made the organization broad-based and affiliated it with the national movement. It is significant that while communalism was overshadowing the national politics in the 1930s and was impeding the national struggle for freedom, the Sheikh was transforming a communal body into a secular one. Prominent Muslim leaders were severing ties from the Congress and forming separate organizations, such as the Ahrar. Dr. Iqbal had already floated the idea of a Muslim state of which Kashmir was to be a part. At this time Sheikh Abdullah was drawing close to the Congress and embracing its political philosophy. He became an ardent admirer of Jawaharlal Nehru whose socialist ideas instilled in him a new spirit.

Sheikh Abdullah rose from the masses. He had all the experiences of hardships and miseries to which the people of his land were subjected. The Muslim middle class was anxious to maintain the communal identity of their political movement. But Sheikh liberated the movement from the clutches of the middle class. True that he sought and received the cooperation of the middle class, yet his movement was basically mass-based. Had he not the support of the masses it would have been difficult for him to lend a secular character to the struggle which had begun with certain demands for the Muslim educated class and was nurtured in the mosques and fed by communal sentiments. However, the initial stages of the movement were beset with intricacies. Sheikh knew that people are being exploited and that the people include both Muslims and Hindus. He was perplexed with the situation. Could he neglect the sentiments of the majority ? Neither could he injure the sentiments of the Hindus by fanning Muslim communalism. On the other hand, the Hindu middle class was dependent upon the State, and had apprehensions against a movement which mostly consisted of the Muslims. The situation was identical with the one which existed in the national politics where the Muslims suspected

every move of the Congress. Sheikh enlisted the support of cross-sections, such as the Mirwaiz, the Punjabi Muslims, the Ahrar and the Ahmadiya, the Congress, and the Hindu middle class as represented by the Pandits. The immediate task before the Sheikh was to erect a movement, to spread it throughout the State. After this was done and the movement was well set off, he discarded the undesirable sections one by one and made the movement a national struggle. It was a great achievement to maintain the identity of Jammu and Kashmir struggle for independence with the national movement. But this was a protracted process and Sheikh had to make many shifts in his stand which sometimes give rise to some doubts regarding his role. The purpose of the paper is to re-examine certain interpretations regarding the Jammu and Kashmir struggle for independence. Since Sheikh Abdullah spearheaded this struggle and played a domineering role in guiding the State politics towards the mainstream, an attempt would be made to look at the difficulties which he encountred during the course of this struggle. It might then help in evaluating the extent to which Kashmir politics came in tune with the all-India national politics.

"The sale-deed of 1846" put a largely Muslim populated state under the Dogra rule which has been characterized as despotic, tyrannical and sectarian.[1] On the whole, the policy of the Dogra rulers had a strong bias against the Muslims. Exclusion from State services, high taxation and legal disabilities were the inherent sources of dissatisfaction among the Muslims of both middle and lower classes. The Hindu middle classes were definitely in an advantageous position since the official hierarchy protected their interests.[2] The condition of the Hindu masses was as wretched as that of the Muslim masses. The Dogra rule was a dynastic one[3] and sectarian in the sense it adopted discriminatory attitude towards the non-Dogra section.[4] For example, among the Hindus it discriminated against the Pandits. The administrative reforms made at the instance of the British India Government did not improve the conditions of the poor. The poor could not resist against all kind of disabilities and discriminations to which he was subjected. However, even the new educated class which sprung among the Muslims found to its amazement that the doors of State employment were closed to it. This provided the basis of their political agitation.[5] They appro-

ached the State with a memorandum as early as 1929. The authorities told them 'privately' that fifty per cent vacancies in Government services would be reserved for the Muslims. This, however, never materialized.[6] The young educated men organized themselves into a group calling it the Reading Room Party which was the harbinger of the 1930-31 agitation. The purpose of the Party was to secure greater Muslim representation in the State.[7] There were some political parties blessed by the Maharaja,[8] such as the Kashmiri Pandits Conference, the Hindu Sabha, and the Sikh's Shiromani Khalsa Darbar. But they did not come forward to support the movement which was in its infancy, thus inducing it to remain a closed group. It was only in 1931 when Sheikh Abdullah, a man of 25 only, assumed the leadership of the group that the growing dissatisfaction of the Kashmir people burst into flame.[9] Since economically and socially backward Muslims formed the bulk of the population, it was inevitable that in the absence of a definite political philosophy, any political agitation in the State will be mainly manned and conducted by the Muslims. The very fact that any such political agitation was going to be directed against a Hindu Maharaja led some people to believe that the Kashmir struggle began as a religious political movement of the Muslims aimed particularly against the Maharaja in 1930-31.[10] The political developments in India during the early 1930s inspired the educated Kashmiri Muslims to renew their demand for admission of the Muslims to the administrative and military services of the State.[11] The movement was, therefore, neither anti-Hindu nor anti-Maharaja. But since it was left alone by the Hindu middle class,[12] it drifted towards exclusiveness and sought the assistance of its own religious leaders. The aspirations of the Muslim educated class were not encouraged by either the Maharaja or the Hindu middle class who wanted to retain State employment as their own closed shops.

In the absence of a political party and mature political leadership, the agitation was conducted by the Reading Room Party with the assistance of the religious leaders[13]. As no public agitation was permitted, the Muslims utilized post-prayer meetings in mosques for expressing their grievances[14]. The movement also received support and sympathies from the Muslim middle class outside Kashmir. For these reasons the movement

became identified with a religious community. However, we can not ignore the fact that at the outset it was the dissatisfaction and frustration of the Muslim intelligentia which led to the formation of a small group. What would have happened to the fate of the Reading Room Party had the Maharaja adopted a conciliatory attitude and looked into their grievances is left to imagination. Still one is tempted to believe that such an attitude might have averted, though temporarily, the entrance of the religious leaders in the ranks of the movement. The Hindu middle classes remained passive towards it. The state policy incited the religious sentiments furthermore. Moreover, Sheikh Abdullah had to operate under many constraints; he was dependent upon the support of all those groups and sections whose philosophy had religious overtones. It was, therefore, political expediency and not religiosity which guided the Sheikh together support from sections and individuals with religious leanings. Had the struggle been essentially religious, Sheikh would have not been able to strike at its roots and plant a secular tree within a span of a few years.

Although the National Conference was founded in 1939, the secular traits could be found in Sheikh Abdullah as early as 1935. For instance, in 1935 he said :

> Let us rise above petty communal bickerings and work jointly for the welfare of the masses. I appeal to my Hindu brethren not to entertain imaginary fears and doubts. Let us assure them that their rights shall not be jeopardized if they join hands with the Mussalmans[15].

"This clarion call" observes Gajendragadkar, "spoke for enlightened, progressive, secular nationalism, and was in a sense consistent with the historical background of Kashmir itself."[16]

Another opinion holds the outside forces, namely the Muslims in Punjab, the Ahrar and the Ahmadiya organizations, responsible for giving communal colour to the political agitation in the State.[17]. The British India Government is also blamed for exploiting the situation and providing inspiration and guidance to the political agitation in the State. Surprisingly Congress[18] has not been included in the list of the outside force although it influenced the local politics considerably.

First, the use of the phrase 'outside forces' is fraught with risks. It leads to a dangerous assumption that Kashmir has a separate identity and should hold on to it. At a period of national awakening against the colonial rule, Kashmir could not remain uninfluenced by the national movement.

The British had extended their political protectorate over the Dogra State. The Dogras were thus integrated into the structure of the British colonial empire. Like the other Indian States, the Dogra State was also subject to the considerations of the British power. The British had started intervening in the affairs of the State immediately after the inception of the Dogra rule.[19] The British in Kashmir increased after the first world war. Maharaja Hari Singh tried to assume direct and effective control of the administration.[20] This policy, however, did not find favour with either the Government of India or the British official in the State [21] Consequently, the Maharaja was pushed into direct confrontation with the Government of India.[22] The British could not be expected to surrender, particularly in regard to the northern frontier.[23] In order to ensure peace and stability they undertook to reform the administrative and economic structure. Besides, they also sought to strengthen the middle class which would operate as a safeguard for the dynasty and also provide a check on its absolute monopoly in property.[24] The consolidation of the middle class interests in land and trade, and the emergence of educated men were the direct results of the British policy. The young educated people clamoured for jobs and formed associations. The Maharaja sensed the danger which the educated Muslims posed to his rule. He announced some concessions but could not accomplish much. The Muslims remained discontented as ever. It would be wrong to presume that the British sought to promote the Muslims discontent. The British could not fail to see that the movement initiated by the Muslim intelligentsia was rapidly broadening its scope and threatening to become a mass movem-nt. For these reasons they were keen to meet a Muslim delegation to listen to the grievances of the Muslim middle class. When the situation worsened and exploded into the form of riots in 1931, their request for the institution of an outside commission of enquiry or the inclusion of a Muhammadan High Court judge in any such commission were not conceded

by the Maharaja. The mistake was soon realised[25] and the new Prime Minister Raja Hari Krishen Kaul soon opened negotiations with the Muslim leaders. An agreement was also arrived at though it was shortlived. And when trouble again broke out in 1931, the Government of India took a serious note of the situation. It warned the Maharaja of the possibility of the Muslim "Jathas" and volunteers entering the State.

However, the British could not allow the outside individual Muslims or the Muslim parties to enter the State and make the popular upsurge a success. Col. Colvin, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, insisted that no member of the Kashmir Committee be allowed in without permission of the State.[26] Colonel Bailey, the Resident in Kashmir, supported him in asking Delhi to suppress such Punjabi Muslim groups as the Kashmir Committee.[27] It is said that most of the journals and *Akhbars*, which took up the cause of the Kashmiri Muslims, were patronized by the British to brow-beat the Maharaja.[28] Indications to the contrary, however, exist. This is reflected in the fact that the Government of the Punjab forced *Inqalab* to retract its fabricated report which gave an exaggerated version of the intolerence of the State towards the Muslims. It is possible that in order to pressurize Maharaja to take immediate measure in cosultation with the British, the latter might have encouraged the Muslim press upto a certain point but when the situation became explosive it retraced its steps.

Moreover, the British saw danger in the event of a growing collaboration between the Kashmiri leadership and the Punjabi Muslims. They could not allow this process to gain ground in a frontier State. They induced the Maharaja to strike division between the Ahrar and the Ahmadiya, two opposite groups that had entered the arena of Kashmir politics with hopes to enlarge their movements. The Ahrars were, in fact, invited by the Maharaja for negotiations. However, the settlement did not last long. The British and the Maharaja both considered the Ahmadiyas as their main enemy. Although, outwardly the Ahmadiyas were loyalists, their political attitude in Kashmir betrayed it. The links of the Ahmadiya with Sheikh Abdullah convinced both the Maharaja and the British about the former's anxiety to keep the agitation alive.[29] The attitude of the British as well as the Maharaja towards the Kashmir struggle was

almost the same. Of course, the British also saw in this struggle an opportunity to extend their control over the Maharaja. What else the Maharaja could expect from the Paramount Power. However, there is no positive evidence to show that the British together with the Kashmiri and the Punjabi Muslims conspired to intensify the struggle.

So far as the Punjabi Muslims, the Ahrars and the Ahmadiyas are concerned, there is no denying that they took keen interest in the Kashmir struggle. Their methods were, however, far from identical. Dr. Iqbal, who took keen interest in the Kashmir politics and was also a member of the Kashmir Committee, sought constitutional methods to seek the remedies. Ahrars always threatened to send armed volunteers to support the Kashmiri Muslims. The Ahmadiyas financed the Kashmir movement and hoped thereby to secure a large following for their mission.

All these forces did not appear in the Kashmir politics all of a sudden. The process of the involvement of the Muslims in Punjab in Kashmir politics therefore requires an analysis.

A few Muslims had migrated to the Punjab to escape ravages during the Sikh period, and launched a relentless propaganda against the State Government for its inability to provide educational facilities to the Muslims. They had, meanwhile, organized themselves into a group calling it the All-India Kashmir Muslim Conference, and functioning from Lahore, offered scholarships to poor Muslims students from Kashmir desirous of having higher technical education in India. They were assisted by the Punjabi Muslims. Quite a few Kashmiri Muslims availed themselves of this facility, and after receiving education in Aligarh and other places in India, returned to Kashmir to inflate the number of the discontented.

A new process began when the Punjabi Muslim Press started taking keen interest in the Kashmir politics. The Reading Room Party appears to have taken inspiration from the dailies *Muslim Outlook* and *Inqalab*. The State banned their entry. The pamphlets started pouring into Kashmir. They were written in a language of fire. In these pamphlets appeals were made to the Muslims of Kashmir to rise against the Hindu administration of the State.[30] What effect these appeals made on the minds of the Kashmir Muslims ? The subsequent agitation of 1930-31 which culminated in the jail firing on 13th July, 1931 is not

described as communal. Bazaz's observations are worth mentioning. He said:

> While there is no denying that the Muslim upper classes and communalists had an effective voice in the movement, it must be recognised that the driving force behind the mass agitation till the 13th July was the discontent among the rank and file of the Muslims. The attack on the jail was in no way directed against the Hindus, and those who laid down their lives at the jail gate did so fighting against an unsympathetic Government. Though conducted by the Muslims the struggle was national in essence.[31]

The riots which followed the jail firing are described by Bazaz as the work of goondas.[32] In his opinion the responsibility also lies with the leaders of the Reading Room Party who failed to cope with the situation.[33] He observes that the "indifferent and sometimes positively inimical and unnecessarily hostile and indiscriminate attitude of the Hindus towards both the nationalistic and communalistic aspirations of the Muslims, was by no means an insignificant factor in developing the movement on these dangerous lines."[34] After the episode of 13th July the Hindus became definitely hostile to the movement and solidly joined the Government forces to get it suppressed.[35] It is against this background that we should study the role of the Kashmir Committee which was formed in Punjab soon after the 13th July episode.

It would be at once difficult to find out the political objectives of the Kashmir Committee. It was a combination of opposites. While there were Dr. Iqbal and Zulfiqar Ali Khan as its members, it was presided by the Ahmadi Khalifa Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmood Ahmad. When founded in 1931, the All-India Kashmir Committee was to be a temporary body. Its purpose was to give legal aid to the Kashmiri Muslims who were being tried in connection with the 13th July episode. No constitution was framed. Since the cases prolonged, Dr. Iqbal felt that there should be a constitution also wherein the aims and objectives of the body should be laid down. The Ahmadiya members considered it a move to oust their Khalifa from its presidentship some time in 1932 after which Dr. Iqbal assumed the president-

ship. On the other hand, Sheikh Abdullah laid the foundation of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. This was to the liking of Dr. Iqbal who had said it previously in a statement that the Kashmir Muslims should unite under one banner. He said that one political party with one political ideology was essential to serve the interests of the people in the State [36] Dr. Iqbal objected to the Ahmadiya leadership because he thought that the Ahmadiyas were trying to use the Kashmir Committee as an instrument to advance their own religio-political mission. During this period a pamphlet was issued from Qadian stating that although Mirza Bashiruddin had resigned, he would continue to work for the welfare of the Kashmiri Muslims and the activities for the promotion of Ahmadiya would remain suspended for two years.[37] Later on, it became evident from Dr. Iqbal's resignation from the presidentship of the Kashmir Committee that the Ahmadiyas continued to influence the Kashmir Committee.[38] Dr. Iqbal abolished the Kashmir Committee because he realised that in these circumstances when the Ahmadiya members were guided by the principle of dual loyalties and considered it a sin to follow any other except their religious leader, the Committee could not work with cohesion.[39] At the same time he felt that there should be a Kashmir Committee in British India to provide leadership and guidance to Kashmiri Muslims. Dr. Iqbal's attitude to the Kashmir politics was moderate. He appreciated the decision of Jammu and Kashmir government to implement the recommendations of Glancy Commission. He also advised Col. Colvin, Prime Minister, to withdraw the criminal cases being heard in Mirpura and Baramula to create confidence and good relations between Government and its subjects. Meanwhile the followers of Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmood had founded another organization, Tahrik-i-Kashmir. Its presidentship was offered to Dr. Iqbal who refused to join it saying how a Muslim could participate in a movement which is working for the propaganda of a particular party in the garb of non-communalism.[40]

The Kashmir Committee was a combination of opposites. Consequently, when the situation became more complex, it became increasingly evident that an organization led by dynamically opposed Muslim leaders could not persist.[41] Meanwhile, the Ahrars also entered the Kashmir politics as much to oppose

the Ahmadiya as to support the Kashmiri Muslims.[42] However, the Ahrars have been characterized as resolutely anti-British, and socially remarkably radical.[43] During 1930-32 they worked with the Congress. This was the time when they were also aiding "the lower classes of Kashmir in their self-assertive movement of 1931-32—an interference in state politics of which the Congress has always been shy."[44] The party generally stood for Hindu-Muslim unity and for this reason Muslim League became their arch-enemy.[45] It would be, therefore, malicious to blame them for spreading communal virus in Kashmir.[46] Bazaz speculates that the Ahrars participated in the Kashmir movement to "unloose the pent-up energies of the parties".[47] However, it was only since about 1936 that the Ahrars showed a tendency to disintegrate.[48] There is, therefore, not much scope for such a speculation. Evidently the Ahrars could not work with the communal forces. This explains why they opposed the Ahmadiya.

The Ahmadiya's were a well-knit, compact and highly organized section. They were avowedly communal and pro-British. But they were most unpopular among the orthodox sections of the Muslims of Punjab.[19] The Sunni members of the Kashmir Committee had also come out against the Ahmadiyas.[50] It appears that the cooperation between the Ahmadiyas and Sheikh Abdullah had assumed great significance and therefore invited opposition from all those groups and individuals who had entered the Kashmir politics. The Punjabi Muslims, led by Dr. Iqbal, had taken a strong position against the Ahmadiya intervention in Kashmir politics. The Maharaja was also concerned primarily with the Ahmadiyas, whom they believed anxious to keep agitation alive in order to prevent the Ahrar from gaining credit for a settlement.[51] The British and the Maharaja identified Sheikh Abdullah with the Ahmadiya.[52] Sheikh was, however, guided by political considerations. He sought support which ultimately came from the All India Kashmir Committee whose leadership included prominent Ahmadiyas.[53] However, Sheikh Abdullah's policy of gaining support from any group was resented by the Ahmadiya leadership.[54] The Ahmadiya saw themselves as moderates. On the whole, the Ahmadiya programme in Kashmir was vague, except that they strongly opposed the Azad Party of Yusuf Shah

because they were in league with the Government of Kashmir.[55]

It is difficult to determine the extent of the influence of the so-called outside forces. On the whole, they were divided among themselves as to the mode of support to the Kashmir struggle. The Punjabi Muslims, led by Dr. Iqbal, took up moderate position with regard to the State Government. The Ahrars were a militant organization and aided the movement by sending armed volunteers. They even allied themselves with the State to undermine the influence of the Ahmadiyas. The Ahmadiyas were a missionary organization and worked with the aim of spreading their mission. The Ahrars were unhappy with Sheikh Abdullah from the very beginning because of his links with the Ahmadiyas. The Ahmadiyas, on the other hand, resented Sheikh's opportunistic style of functioning. Sheikh needed the support of all these sections or forces, present in the neighbourhood of Punjab, to consolidate the movement. However, when the situation became complex in the State, it became difficult for these antagonistic forces to continue and especially when Sheikh also started asserting the independence of the movement. It would be therefore a great mistake to exaggerate the influence of the Punjabi Muslims and the Ahrar and the Ahmadiya on Kashmir politics. The movement had soon acquired sufficient strength to stand on its own.

For some time after 1934, Sheikh Abdullah had been undergoing a thorough ideological change and coming increasingly under the influence of the Indian National Congress with its ideology of secularism and socialism. He realized that the problems in Kashmir were related to the political structure and economic exploitation and had nothing to do with the creed of any particular people.[56] He felt the need of involving all people irrespective of caste and creed into the movement. This initiated a new and progressive phase in the Kashmir struggle for independence. It may be noted that the support for secular and progressive ideas was to come not from the Punjabi Muslims but from the Indian National Congress.

Sheikh Abdullah had been feeling unrest in the Muslim Conference which he himself had set up in 1932. The Muslim Conference was based on the grievances of the Muslim educated class alone. But now Sheikh Abdullah felt that "Moslems were to be protected not necessarily because of their Muslim faith but

because persecution of any community in any form was to be fought and overcome.[57] As early as 1935 Sheikh Abdullah had declared that his fight was for the emancipation of his own country.[58] He needed the support of the people and not of any particular community. He objected to the fact that only Muslims were made the members of the Muslim Conference.[59] He saw that its leaders preoccupied with the Muslim-Hindu struggle and unaware of the significance of their own nationalist movement.[60] Sheikh's progressive, socially advanced mind could not find peace in this kind of political party. Together with Prem Nath Bazaz he launched in 1935 a weekly, *Hamdard*, in which he pleaded for admission of the Sikhs and Hindus to the membership of the Muslim Conference.[61] He also became a close friend of Jawaharlal Nehru. He was also inspired by the fact that Congress was taking interest in the conditions of the people of the Indian States. At one time he was made President of the All-India States' People's Congress sponsored by the Congress.[62] As President of this body he had ample opportunities to make contacts with Nehru and other Congress leaders. 'Nationalism, an interest in Left-wing socialism, and sincere socialism' were the main principles which governed Abdullah's political behaviour. These developments led to the dissolution of the Muslim Conference and the establishment of All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in 1939. The communal traits, however, did not subside altogether and soon a split occurred which culminated in 1941 when the Muslim Conference was revived by Ghulam Abbas. The two Conferences represented the two different ideologies which were contending for supremacy on the Indian scene.[63] While the National Conference was drawing closer to the Congress and inviting admonition from the Muslim communalists for allying with that "Hindu Body", the Congress, the Hindu members of the National Conference also created difficulties for Sheikh Abdullah in coping with a communal situation.

Sheikh Abdullah always experienced difficulty in working with Hindus, especially on any ideology which could go against the Dogra Raj.[64] The Pandits who had entered the ranks of the National Conference felt disgusted because they felt that Sheikh Abdullah was trying to soothe the religious sentiments of the Muslims by celebrating Id-i-Milad. Sheikh's difficulty lay in the

fact that the Muslim Conference was threatening to become an all-Kashmir movement. The Muslim League, the political mentor of the Muslim Conference, early in 1940 had thrown a challenge to his devotion to Islam by organizing Id-i-Milad. Abdullah, too, decided to celebrate the Id-i-Milad. The Pandit members of the Conference did not appreciate this. This led to the resignation of Pandit Jia Lal Kilam and Kashyap Bandhu, two leading Kashmiri Pandit members of the Working Committee from both the Committee and the Conference. On the other hand, the Government orders of 1940 regarding the language issue were resented by the Muslim communalists.[65] The Muslim members of the National Conference's Working Committee became desperate. They were again placed in a very difficult situation. Their unqualified condemnation of the Government orders alienated another Pandit, Prem Nath Bazaz.[66] Chaudhary Hamidullah's[67] cut motion to discuss the preponderance of the Kashmiri Pandits in State services was supported by the National Conference Party. This raised a storm of protest in the Pandit circles and their Press.[68] How long could the Pandits remain in a movement which tended to undermine their privileged position.

The politics in Kashmir thus became confined to the interests of the middle-classes both Hindu and Muslim ; they collaborated and contended. Their alliances and relationships were determined by their class interests. The situation was akin to one which prevailed in the rest of India. Despite all these constraints, Sheikh Abdullah was able to maintain the secular and nationalist identity of the National Conference which played a significant role in the 1940s. His political programme which appeared in 1944 in the form of a document called 'New Kashmir' declared that the National Conference fights "for the poor, against those who exploit them ; for the toiling people of our beautiful homeland; against the heartless ranks of the socially privileged.... The history of freedom movements...had only one lesson to teach—that freedom from all forms of economic exploitation is the only true guarantee of political democracy."[69] The programme envisaging 'economic emancipation' showed that the Conference was aware of the communal middle class politics which was taking heavy toll on the people and was seeking to give the struggle a broad outlook. He said that "the problem of

Kashmir was surrounded by the wider concentric circles of the problems of India and the problems of the world as a whole...when political and economic systems are in the melting pot and ideas of a New World are being debated, it (the Conference) too must formulate more concretely its own conception of the new Kashmir it strives to build."[70]

Two years later when Sheikh Abdullah launched the 'Quit Kashmir' campaign, he put his case openly and emphatically in a telegram to the Cabinet Mission.[71] "Today the national demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the establishment of responsible Government, but their right to absolute freedom from autocratic rule. The immensity of the wrong done to our people by the "Sale Deed" of 1846 can only be judged by looking into the actual living conditions of the people. It is the depth of our torment that has given strength to our protest."[72]

Sheikh Abdullah had indeed travelled far. In doing so he had raised the level of politics from the sectional interests of the educated Muslims to the level of broad struggle of the masses against colonialism and its junior partners.

## NOTES

1. P.L. Lakhanpal, *Essential Documents and Notes on Kashmir Dispute*, 2nd edition, Delhi, 1965, p. 16.
2. Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1941, p. 108.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
5. Lakhanpal, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
6. *Ibid*, p. 16.
7. Lord Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir*, London, 1956, p. 34.
8. Josef Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton, 1954, p. 45.
9. Korbel, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
10. *See* for example Balraj Madhok, Kashmir Divided, p. 34.
11. Korbel, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
12. Sardar Ibrahim Khan observes that the Hindus generally, and the Dogras particularly had always been against this movement. The Hindus thought that they would be deprived of their interests. *See* The Kashmir Saga, Lahore, 1965, p. 22.
13. Korbel, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
14. Lakhanpal, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
15. Quoted in Dr. P.B. Gajendragadkar, *Kashmir—Retrospect and Prospect*, Bombay, 1967, p. 24.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
17. Prem Nath Bazaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

18. However, I.H. Qureshi holds the Congress responsible for igniting the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. He opines that with the commencement of the anti-state agitation encouraged by the Congress, communalism reared its ugly head in the States (i.e. Kashmir and Hyderabad). The Struggle for Pakistan, Karachi, 1974, p. 70.
19. M.K. Teng, R.K. Kaul Bhatt and Santosh Kaul, *Kashmir—Constitutional History and Documents*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 17-18.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
25. The Muslims boycotted the Dalal Commission which was, instituted by the Maharaja.
26. Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadiyah Movement*, Delhi, 1974, p. 154.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
28. M.K. Teng, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
29. Spencer Lavan, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
30. Prem Nath Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
31. Prem Nath Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
33. *Ibid*, p. 132.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
36. Jagan Nath Azad, *Iqbal aur Kashmir*, p. 150. There is a striking resemblance between Jagan Nath Azad's account of the Kashmir politics and the findings of Spencer Lavan in his work *The Ahmadiyah Movement*
37. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
39. Jagan Nath Azad, *op cit.*, p. 152.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
41. Spencer Lavan, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
43. W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore, 1943, p. 261.
44. W.C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
46. Prem Nath Bazaz imputes some ulterior motives to the Ahrars. According to him, "By participating in the movement they would, they thought, kill two birds with one stone. They could fire the imagination of the Muslims all over India by actively helping with men and money the movement of the Muslims against a Hindu State and gain immense prestige in the Islamic world". *Inside Kashmir*, p. 111.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
48. W.C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
49. Prem Nath Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
50. Spencer Lavan, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

51. Spencer Lavan, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
56. Birdwood, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
57. Birdwood, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
58. Gajendragadkar, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
59. Korbel, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
63. Gajendragadkar, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
64. Sardar Ibrahim Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
65. Prem Nath Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
66. Prem Nath Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 338.
67. Chaudhary Hamidullah had earlier severed his ties from the National Conference.
68. Prem Nath Bazaz, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
69. Quoted in Korbel, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
70. Quoted in Gajendragadkar, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
71. This Cabinet Mission had arrived in Delhi to investigate the ways and means of parting with power.
72. Cited in a footnote in Birdwood, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 1.

# 7

# *Understanding Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah*

PROFESSOR MOHAMMAD YASIN

The real solution of the political problem of the Indian sub-continent was a federation. It is absolutely impossible to forcibly unite under one yoke the diverse human urges and aspirations, cultural patterns and ways of life. Such an attempt might be practically desirable, but it is certainly unsound, historically speaking. To bring the whole of the Indian sub-continent under an imperial sway, without giving the various units a respectable amount of free hand to manage their internal affairs and a full scope to develop their personality, has proved futile. History testifies to this. When the strong hand of a ruler was absent, the provinces and the states brought under control by force of arms, declared independence, and managed their own affairs in their own ways. A Government at the centre brands such attempts by smaller units and the states as 'rebellion', while the people of those states considered it a liberation movement, a way of independence. Chand Sultana, Baz Bahadur, Maharana Pratap, and Shivaji, are worshipped as heroes in their own areas though labelled as rebels by the rulers at the centre. If this basic fact would have been understood by our leaders, there would have been no partition of the country, and again Bangla Desh would not have come into existence, but for the follies of the administrators

of the Western wing of Pakistan. The solution which the Founding Fathers of the United States of America found for their very acute bewildering situation, should have served as the beacon for the Indian politicians. Today, America is the mightiest country on earth.

There is no use to weep on the spilled milk. But even the India of today has the same dimensions. We are all Indians. Yet, every region and every area has some special characteristics. The sum total of all these traits and trends, is the great *Indian Culture*. The unity in diversity is the hallmark of the Indian life. No one culture of a particular area or of a particular people or group, represents or means by any stretch of imagination 'The Indian Culture'. Hence it is a folly to think that any state which does not conform to the pattern of some one at the centre, is disobedient or rebellious. You cannot build flat and open houses in Simla or Srinagar as you do in Madras or Delhi.

Nowadays, there is much talk about the Centre-Sheikh relations after the landslide victory of the National Conference in the recent assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir. If you want to understand Sheikh Abdullah, understand the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State; if you want to understand the people of the state, understand the climatic conditions prevalent in this part of the country; if you want to understand the weather and the climate of the area, understand the geographical situation of the region; if you want to understand the geography of the State, understand the Pir Panjal range. Sheikh Abdullah and the Pir Panjal range are identical. The Pir Panjal has precious jewel, a heaven in miniature, in its bosom; the bosom of Sheikh Abdullah burns for the well-being, dignity, honour and self-respect of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

History tells us that Kashmir has always fought for a life free from domination and political coercion. Kashmir is the Paradise on Earth, so all possible efforts were made by rulers and conquerors in the past to pocket it. But Kashmir has consistently defied such an attempt. This does not mean that Kashmir wanted to live in isolation. No, Kashmir wanted to live in peace, at peace with all the races, religions and communities. This is the key to the understanding of the political

situation in Kashmir. Kashmir looked to other outside powers and forces only to safeguard its own institutions and freedom. Kashmir welcomes rulers as saviours, but when they tried to grab the land, the people of the State threw them away, may be with the help of another power.

Kashmir invited India and joined hands with it primarily to safeguard its identity and way of life. Kashmir rejected Pakistan when she found that joining hands with Pakistan meant assimilation and domination. Kashmir is a part of India though it enjoys a special position under the Constitution of India. Kashmir is secular, Kashmir is socialist in the real sense. You can see real democracy and brotherhood in Kashmir. Kashmir declared secularism, socialism and democracy as its goal long before 1947. The *Naya Kashmir* testifies to this. Kashmir is already in the mainstream of national life but mainstream might not be confused with complete political merger or assimilation. And in all this no one can deny the proud place which Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah occupies. He is the champion and true spirit which is Kashmir. It is a folly to suppose that Sheikh Abdullah is an individual. He is an institution. He is the conscience of Kashmir and Kashmir toes his line no matter he is—in his lifetime and even after his death.

The Americans, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Andrew Jackson, Stephen A. Douglas, Thomas Hart Benton, Abraham Lincoln—all had love for the Union, all had love for their states and regions, all saw no conflict, rather, a mutually nourishing connection, between these two loves. These famous men and the millions of followers for whom they spoke were *patriots* who had met every test set by Rousseau—inclination, passion, necessity—and had attached their ultimate patriotism to a nation so huge and loose-jointed that the sight of it would have sent Rousseau, not to forget Montesquieu, into a state of shock.

Sheikh Abdullah also loves Kashmir, loves India. The two loves are not contradictory or mutually exclusive. He loves his children; he loves his parents. He fights his own parents to give due share to his own children. Politically speaking, there is a generation gap. Sheikh Abdullah is the link, the bridge. Stronger the bridge the younger Kashmiri generation might be induced to come out of their nests to play their role and enjoy the spacious

courtyard of their grand-parents. So the bridge, the spirit behind it, and what it symbolises, need not be disturbed in the interest of the greatest good of the greatest democracy of the world to which every one of us belong, including the Lion of Kashmir.

# 8

# *Main trends of the History of the Kashmir Freedom Struggle*

PEER GIYASUDDIN

An attempt has been made in this brief paper to present the main outlines of certain historical processes which had a distinct character and were of great relevance to the freedom struggle of Kashmir. The modern history of Kashmir has been the outcome of an interplay of complimentary as well as supplementary forces. The interaction of centripetal and centrifugal trends gave to the movement for freedom a distinct personality and style of its own. Though the freedom struggle of Kashmir people bears the distinct impress of healthy influences from outside but it continues to be the inheritor and perpetuator of local traditions. What we inherited and subsequently preserved in spite of heavy odds is the tradition of tolerance and secular humanism. The unique geographical situation and configuration has created in this area a certain regional complex which has been the receptacle of contradictory as well as cohesive processes. The elements of contradiction are perhaps a little too apparent and a superficial study tends to note only this aspect of a complete reality and miss the basic elements of cohesiveness. The contradictions still persist but with the development of modern mass media of communication they are increasingly getting weakened. However, the discordant notes in the symphony still remain.

The features of the ancient and the mediaeval phases of the history of Kashmir need not be analysed here. But one distinctive feature of the tradition spread over these periods should be kept in mind while analysing modern developments. Unlike other mountainous regions of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, which were more or less "refuge areas" or blind alleys of social development. Kashmir due to its strategic location at the hub of Asia, has been the recipient of major cultural influences from the surrounding regions. They persist and can be easily discerned in the spiritual, econological and cultural life of the people. Though the valley has been imbibing external influences, it has succeeded in preserving its individuality. It has absorbed the healthy elements from outside but never got submerged in them.

It is a commonly held belief that the Kashmir struggle for freedom and emancipation dates back to 1931. This view is probably not correct. The 1931 explosion and upheavals were a continuation and the nodal point of a series of previous struggles for political freedom which took place in the State since 1870. In the wake of the Franco-war, Europe was overtaken by a great economic slump. Consequently, the main exports of Kashmir to the outside world i.e., shawls got a great set-back. Internally, the shawl industry was the victim of heavy taxation. These economic factors generated great mass discontent directed against the Government. The economic aspect of the struggle was augmented by the sentiments of political freedom. Unfortunately, this healthy content of the incipient movement got diverted into wrong sectarian channels by certain machinations of the ruling class. It is, however, interesting to note in this conflict had an economic basis in as much as the Shias constituted mainly the Karkhandar employers and the Sunnis predominantly the artisans. The continuing impoverishment of the people led to many other forms of discontent including food riots. This was followed in the early twenties by a mass outburst of the silk factory workers against the then ruling class. The nobility of Srinagar, taking advantage of such mass discontent, made attempts to ventilate their grievances and make a representation to the then Viceroy of India. As a consequence of this incident respectable persons were exiled These incidents were the precursors of the mass upheaval which shook

the valley in 1931.

Naturally, such a major event in the modern history of Kashmir has provoked conflicting approaches and divergent loyalties. A section of intellectuals, engrossed in appearance and perhaps incapable of deeper probings in the social process, consider the 1931 outburst to be essentially communal in character, in a region with a predominant Muslim population. It is only natural that the movement for emancipation was spear-headed by the Kashmiri Muslims. It may be noted that the religion of the ruling dynasty happened to be Hinduism and main educated class in the valley, who were manning all the rungs of the administration also happened to be Kashmiri Pundits. In such a historical context the movement appeared to be the outburst of the oppressed Muslims against Hindu rulers. But this is a very superficial view which ignores the basic social and political processes operating under the surface. Similar was the error of the Muslim communal historians of modern India who failed to discover the basic motivations behind the Hindu sources of inspiration of Tilak or Savarkar. Such notions of history have fed and still feed the irrational and obscurantist Two Nations Theory. This approach takes various garbs and sometimes its exponents appear to be arrayed against each other in opposite camps of modern historiography, But in its essential character, this trend is unified whole and arises out of the historians' inability to recognise the limitations of social backwardness and its compulsions on the freedom struggle of a stagnating social organism. The only scientific method of studying such movements is to analyse their source, their basic motivations as also the alignment of the various component classes which participate in such struggles. Basing ourselves on such a scientific methodology, the conclusion is inescapable. The 1931 revolt was the authentic revolt of the people of the State against the political, social and economic oppression by the ruling class and their henchmen. The rebellious elements were the Muslim intelligentsia, the trading class and the mass of the peasantry who were groaning under the yoke of feudal rule. Hence, seen historically, the characteristics of the revolt were essentially neither unhealthy nor communal but sound, progressive and national. The limitations imposed by the communal form were important but the logic of its national content was of far greater significance.

This analysis does not hold good for Kashmir alone. In many other parts of feudal India, differences in the religious persuasion of the people coincided with class and social differences. After the advent of Islam in India some of the largest States were headed by Muslim Governors and some of feudal nobility in Northern India was also Muslim. The merchants, money-lenders and the bulk of the population, however, continued to be mostly Hindu, while many peasants and artisans embraced Islam. Take the case of pre-partition Bengal where a large section of the small land the Hindu jotedars in Bengal may have tended to acquire a communal character and may have even been exploited by communal parties but its basic character, nevertheless, remained rooted in socio-economic realities. The orthodox Indian tradition, persisting from early times, has left a legacy which was utilised by early pioneers of the freedom struggle to justify and promote programmes and theories of political action, which tended to blend Hindu Nationalism and Indian Nationalism. Inkens' biography of Savarkar have related an interesting example of the early mixture of anti-British and anti-Muslim sentiments in the background of Hindu-Muslim riots. It is clear from the above that in a socially backward miliue, the blending of national and religious nuances is natural and such distortions should not blind us towards the real nature of the movements. The phenomenon of the 1931 Kashmir struggle should be analysed and examined in this context and this context alone.

There has been very little study of and research on the period from 1931 to 1938. These years were crucial and formative for the movement. It is quite common in some pseudo-nationalist circles to dub this period as a period of communal dominance over the Kashmir movement for freedom because in this period it was led by the Muslim Conference. A close study, however, reveals that this nascent movement fought its way to assume a progressive and secular complexion. The essential content proved too powerful for the form. The form was rendered obsolete and thrown in the dustbin of history.

During these crucial years, the movement was reared and nurtured by political elements in the neighbouring province of the Punjab. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the emerging contours of the Punjab politics of the thirties, its nature and

characteristics. The main religious-cum-educational organisations of the Punjab which supported the Kashmir Movement were the Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam, the Majlis-i-Ahrar and other anti-imperialist Muslim nationalist organisations. Another great factor which gave impetus to the movement in Kashmir was the poet, philosopher, Doctor Iqbal, who through his poetical writings and speeches depicted the Kashmir tale of woe. These organisations and personalities from the Punjab exerted great influence on and helped to mould the freedom struggle in Kashmir. The Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam, formed in 1890, had an anti-British character. The Ulemas and early Muslim educationists in Punjab, who were associated with the Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam, attacked the Ahmadiya Movement for the latter's support to British colonial rule. The Society was strongly influenced by Syed Ahmed Khan whose ideas were keenly felt in the Punjab Movement for social reform. The Majlis-i-Ahrar was also a militant anti-British Muslim Nationalist organisation. Many of its important leaders were emigrant Kashmiri Muslims residing in Lahore, Sialkot and Amritsar. It gave a militant battle to support the Kashmir struggle under the Kashmir State Muslim Conference. During the darkest days of oppression when the Burma Ordinance and Martial Law were in operation and flogging was the order of the day in Kashmir, the Majlis-i-Ahrar gave the slogan of "Kashmir Chalo". Thousands of patriots entered the State. Mass arrests were made on the situation become so dangerous for the State authorities that they had to approach the British Government to seek their help to control the situation in the Punjab and avert the inflow of Ahrars in the State of Kashmir. Bloody battles took place between the British police and the army on the one hand and the Ahrars on the other. In the Punjab, a Kashmir Committee was formed to support the Kashmir struggle for freedom and the Committee was headed by prominent personalities from the Anjuman-i-Himayat-ul-Islam, Dr. Iqbal, and some leaders of the Majlis-i-Ahrar.

The British and the feudal henchmen got so scared of the progressive character of the Kashmir movement that they tried to counter-balance it. Under this inspiration, the propertied Muslim elements in the Punjab initiated a new Muslim sectarian movement—the Ahmadiya or Qadyani Movement. It is not the

intention here to evaluate the religious ideas of the movement set out to adapt Islam to the new socio-economic and political setting. While preaching the Muslim faith among the people of other religions, mainly Christian and Hindus, they also sought to provide an ideological justification for the political co-operation of Muslims with the British. They upheld the view that *Jehad* is contrary to the Quranic doctrine. Members of this propertied sect stated that the presentation of this theory is the greatest service they performed to the British Government. This sect, in order to counter the anti-British nature of the Kashmir Movement, professed their sympathy with it. Their powerful organ Al-Fazal, through its columns supported the movement but tried to eliminate the influence of Ahrars from the Kashmir Movement. Scores of Qadiani Mubaligs came to the Kashmir valley to strengthen their movement and secure hegemony over the Kashmir Muslim Conference. A great political battle raged inside Kashmir between anti-Ahmadiyas and pro-Ahmadiyas, outside Kashmir, this battle extended to the whole of the Punjab as between the Ahrars and the Ahmadiyas. The pro-Ahmadiya leadership was thrown out from the leadership of the movement in Kashmir and in the Punjab the Ahrars succeeded in exposing their pro-British character. This was a crucial period in the history of the Kashmir movement and it was during these times that its essential features emerged. It maintained its anti-feudal, anti-British character, as if it was functioning under the banner of the State Muslim Conference.

A very important factor which exerted considerable influence on the movement was the fact that the main leadership of the Muslim Conference and later of the National Conference (and even today of the National Congress and the other political parties) mainly comprised those who have been educated at Aligarh. They form the main political ideological leadership of the various parties in the State and during the period under review, they were the main leaders of the movement. It will not be our context here to give a critical appraisal of the role of the Aligarh school of thought in the national politics of the country. Muslim intellectuals were reared by and large on the ideological enteates propagated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's journal 'Social Reformer'. This school of thought attacked

religious bigotry and advocated secular education on the modern values of western culture. According to Dr. Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advocated industrial development and commerce and appealed to his countrymen to do something about the wretched plight of the masses. He was a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. "Do not forget that Hindu and Muslim are names referring to the religious denomination." He said in one of his lectures, but whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, so long as these people live in our country they form one nation regardless of their faith. And since they are all one nation, they must also be one in their concern for the general political interests of their country. We must unite to solve the common problems. If we do so we will survive and if not, relations will be disastrous for Hindus and Muslims alike. This was an important element of the ideology of the Aligarh School which from the very beginning exerted great influence over the politics of the State and led to a serious conflict within its polity. The Moulvis or higher Ulemas opposed the Movement led by the Muslim Conference and the broad-based majority of Muslim clergy called peers. More or less the Muslim intelligentsia supported the Movement. The higher clergy stood for a compromise with the feudal Government and opposed the main demands of the Movement. They were supported by the Muslim feudal elements who got scared of the progressive nature of the freedom struggle. This process led to the lower clergy collaborating with it. This is analogous to the French Revolution where the lower clergy supported the revolution and the upper clergy opposed it. This process was not only confined to the political sphere but extended to the sphere of education and culture as well. The feudal elements in collaboration with religious Mullahs opposed modern trends in culture, education, social reforms and even opposed Sir Syed's concept of re-orientation of Islam. It was not an accidental phenomenon that the landlords who took the lead in Muslim Communal movement of North India were allied with the upper crust of religious Mullahs while a section of the Muslim intellectuals were opposed to the Muslim communal movement and was willing to co-operate with the All Indian national political organisations. In Kashmir, as in other parts of India, traders

civil servants and some of the minor landlords owned their interest in social affairs to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's ideological influence. A generation of Muslim intellectuals throughout India and specially in Kashmir was reared in the Aligarh tradition. Many of them later turned their backs on religious sectarianism opposing Mullaism and adopting Indian national viewpoint.

In 1937-38 a group of enlightened, politically active and mostly intellectual Kashmiri Brahmins came nearer to the Muslim Conference. They succeeded in realising its progressive potentialities and the popular character. After a series of discussions and debates the stage was set for converting this mass organisation into the National Conference. What they added to its mass character and more or less popular programme was the fact that it should embrace all the people of the State irrespective of caste, creed and colour. All these deliberations were concretised in a charter called the Charter of "National Demands". It was a historical coincidence that in the same year Dr. Iqbal passed away. It will be apt to note here that the ideological inspiration which permeated our movement during this period was that of this great Kashmiri Brahmin who remained a unique inspirer of the movement from 1931 till his death in 1938. If this period should be called the Era of Iqbal in our movement it would not be incorrect to designate the period following as the Nehru Era like his predecessor this great Kashmiri Brahmin, through his political acumen put the stamp of his ideas on the political scene from 1938 onwards.

In 1938, the first political struggle was launched for the establishment for a responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja. The movement was suppressed and the leaders arrested. After their release, the leadership of the organisation of the State participated in the conference held at Ludhiana under the supervision of the All India State People's Conference. It was here that the leadership of Kashmir came closer to the personality of Pandit Nehru and was impressed by his ardent anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism and ideas of socialism. With the approach of World War II the ideas of socialism spread to the State and particularly to the Valley. The leadership of the National Conference built a trade union movement and organised peasants in rural organisation. This was the period when ideas of Marxism were spreading fast throughout the country.

The enlightened leadership of the National Conference evolved a detailed socialistic programme called Naya Kashmir. This programme was in a way more advanced and radical than the programme envisaged by the Indian National Congress and its so-called organisations. With the adoption of this programme the organisation became socialistic in its outlook and approach. With the outbreak of the war suppression was unleashed by the British Government. The Kashmir Movement supported first and taken on by the Indian leadership for complete independence of the country, while maintaining a clear and explicit anti-fascist stand. With the defeat of fascist powers and the spread of mass upsurge throughout the country inspired by the INA and the revolt of RIN ratings, the Kashmir Movement forged ahead in its battle against feudal autocracy and imperialism. The National Conference, by initiating the Quit Kashmir Movement made a departure from the establishment programme of All India State People's Conference. The Quit Kashmir Movement was not only a slogan to establish responsible government within the monarchical framework but a clarion call for complete liquidation of the feudal autocratic structure. The slogan was supplemented by the battle cry to the peasantry for abolition of landlordism without compensation. This slogan was more or less radical compared to the agrarian policy of the All India State People's Conference and the Indian National Congress. It is an accomplished historical fact that in comparison to other States of India the land policy enunciated earlier was practically implemented in this State and land was distributed among the tillers without compensation.

On the basis of the foregoing study, the following conclusions can be drawn :

(a) The freedom struggle of Kashmir people was an integral part of the anti-imperialist movement in the sub-continent. It got sustenance from and, in its turn, gave new directions to this struggle.

(b) Within the framework of the national anti-imperialist struggle and as an integral part of it, the freedom struggle of the Kashmir people maintained its individuality and its distinct character.

(c) The Kashmir struggle for freedom acquired its mass

character because it had an anti-feudal economic content.

(d) The freedom struggle of the Kashmir people, had a communal form in its embroynic stage because of the compulsions of social backwardness but it soon broke the shackles of obscurantist communalism and became a worthy inheritor of the secular and humanistic legacy of its history.

# 9

# *Early Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Kashmir*

DR. GHULAM HASSAN KHAN

The early socio-religious reform movements in Kashmir during the first three decades of the present century played a vital role in the emergence of modern Kashmir. Being non-political, these movements were directed towards social and religious reform. But the awakening which these movements brought about had an important impact not only on the social outlook of the people but had also tremendous political consequences. These movements roused the people to a sense of self-reassertion for a status of equality in the society, economy and political spheres of the political systems which the then rulers had established in the state. With the consolidation of their power in Kashmir the Dogra rulers were very often repressive and exploitative. The people were denied the basic freedoms of citizenship. Not to speak of political rights and civil liberties, even the formation of ordinary types of associations of non-political nature were reluctantly permitted. However, towards the close of the nineteenth century both Muslims and non-Muslims communities were beginning to want a change. Each community, however, was required to adapt itself to the new conditions. The leading men of both the communities, Muslims and non-Muslims came from upper and middle classes who like their counterparts in the rest of the sub-continent were "economi-

cally prosperous, educationally advanced, socially esteemed."[1] The leaders of these movements played a vital role, however, in bringing out people from the rut of ignorance and inferiority complex. They infused in them a spirit of self-confidence, self-dignity and self-help. Thus, these movements were a response to the introduction of western rationalism and liberalism which the western education had introduced in the sub-continent.

**Arya Samaj**

Arya Samaj was the earliest organisation to start a socio-religious reform movement in Jammu and Kashmir State in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The organisation was recognised by the State. It had established various branches both in Jammu and Kashmir provinces. In the beginning it started its activities in "Proselytising Meghs and Dooms"[2] in Sialkot and Jammu but by 1920 it engaged itself into political activities there. It organised *Sammelans* and public meetings and took out processions with a view to enlist the popular support to the Non-Cooperation Movement started by Gandhiji in 1920. It was, thus, to some extent successful in enlisting the support of non-Muslims in favour of the movement. It enrolled the membership from non-official clerks, teachers as well as "many high officials of the State"[3]. It also collected subscriptions for the Tilak Fund.

In Kashmir province the Samaj movement remained confined to the Punjabi non-Muslims for a long time. The Kashmiri Pandits did not join it for fear of ex-communication because the Pandits generally thought that he who became an Arya Samajist had lost his faith. But around 1915 a few Kashmiri Pandits had thought in terms of the Samaj movement. As a result, Arya Kumar Sabha was organised as an independent socio-religious organisation based on Sanatanist principles of Hinduism[4]. But soon the Arya Kumar Sabha was affiliated with the Arya Samaj Amirakadal which is a "branch Arya Samaj Prithnidhi Sabha, Punjab, a registered body with the head office at Lahore, and is enjoying the rights of religious preaching according to the Vedas for the last twenty-six years in the State"[5]. The Arya Kumar Sabha worked as "a part of the great Vedic movement in the Kashmir State"[6]. The Arya Kumar Sabha could

not draw appreciable membership from the Kashmiri Pandit community. However, the Sabha enlisted members from educated and uneducated Hindu youth. It had also opened a Reading Room where its members were required to read the literature or to discuss various aspects of the Hindu religion and Hindu society. The reformist activities of the Sabha extended to the removal of social ills and evil practices such as the enormous waste of money on marriage ceremonies, the dowry system, the infant marriages and the practice of widowhood. The Sabha was in favour of inter-caste marriages among the Hindus. In its efforts to achieve their objectives, the Sabha encountered opposition from the majority of the Kashmiri Pandits. The wealthy aristocratic sections of Kashmiri Pandit community was opposed to such reforms, because they believed that reduction in expenditure on the marriages of their sons or daughters would lower their social status in their community. The Sanatanist Brahmins did not agree with the Samaj's opposition to idol-worship, the *Shardha* ceremony of the dead, the belief that the Vedas are the only sacred books and those Shastras which were in strict conformity with the Vedas. The opposition of the wealthy elements as well as the Sanatanists to the Arya Samajists wielded such a tremendous influence in the Kashmiri Pandit community that the majority of the Pandits did not embrace the Arya Samaj and the Samaj movement remained confined to an insignificant number of Kashmiri Pandits. Besides, the Kashmiri Pandits generally opposed the Arya Samaj movement on grounds that the organization was dominated by non-Kashmiri Punjabi Hindus whom the ruler Maharaja Partap Singh, had been patronizing.[7] The political character of the Arya Kumar Sabha was manifest in that it supported Swadeshi movement, the use of khadar in place of foreign cloth. In 1921, the Sabha had come quite secretly into contact with the revolutionary party of Bhagat Singh.[8] Politically, the Arya Kumar Sabha was a part of Arya Samaj, Lahore, and its aim was Indianization of everything in the country. The Sabha had a deep faith in the ideology of Swadeshi movement of the Indian National Congress.

The Arya Samaj movement had limited success in its mission in Kashmir State. The movement was started with two-fold objects of proselytisation and political propaganda. In matter

of religion the Arya Samaj in its missionary activities antagonised the people of other faiths in Kashmir. The Samaj made open attacks on "Islam and Jainism"[9]. In the beginning the Samaj was successful in converting a few non-Kashmiri Punjabi Muslims and one or two Kashmiri Muslims to Hindusim. But soon it had to encounter a strong opposition by the Muslims against the *Shuddi* programme. As a result the Muslim scholars and Moulvis organised an anti-Samaj campaign. The Muslims made counter attacks on Hindu religion in various public meetings which were held at Huzuri Bagh[10]. On June 2, Lala Lajpat Rai in a speech delivered at Huzuri Bagh exhorted the audience to strictly observe the reforms regarding the re-marriage of widows, and the infant marriages. He also laid emphasis on Hindu Sangathan and the *Shuddi*.[11]

The *Shuddi* movement of the Arya Samaj was the main cause for its failure of enlisting the support of Muslim subjects of the State in favour of its political goal. The result was that the political activities of the Samaj movement influenced only the non-Muslim subjects of the State. Moreover, the political activities of the Arya Samaj were curtailed by the State Government and the Government of India. The Chief Minister of the State had been directed by the Maharaja to take strict action to stop the Samaj from convening its meetings because he (the Maharaja) was not prepared to see any movement of Gandhiji's followers being started in the State territories.[12] The political activities of the Arya Samaj movement were also crushed under the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act which had been in force in the State since 1914.

**Dogra Sabha**

The Dogra Sabha, a semi-political organization of the Jammu province, was founded in 1903.[13] The aims of the Dogra Sabha were to help spread of education in the State, to fight for the redress of the peoples' grievances, to bring about a spirit of unity and cooperation between the different communities living in the State, to fight for the protection of the State subjects in Government services and to start a social reform movement for the removal of social evils such as infant marriages, the enforced widowhood among Hindus, the forced labour, the addic-

tion to smoking, the trafficking in women etc.

The role of the Dogra Sabha was nothing more than convening of its annual sessions and such special sessions as it deemed necessary for discussing and deciding matters of urgent importance. It generally conducted its activities in Jammu. But it had also established its branch office at Kawji Adda, Srinagar.[14] Its activities in Kashmir province were very limited. The Dogra Sabha convened its annual session for the first time in Srinagar in 1926. In September, a meeting of the Sabha was held at Pandit Balkak Dhar's house. The meeting was attended besides others by Munshi Assad Ullah, Syed Mohsin Shah, Mohammad Amin Drabu, Siraj-ud-Din Gani, Muzzafar-ud-Din and Kamar-ud-Din Vakil.[15] As a result of this meeting, the Dogra Sabha held its annual session on 13th, 14th and 15th of October, 1926 at Bagh-i-Dilawar Khan, Srinagar. Munshi Asad Ullah and Pandit Jia Lal Kilam were elected the President and Secretary of the reception committee respectively.[16]

The three days annual session of the Sabha did not attract much of the public attention. All the sessions were almost a total failure. The average attendance of the audience did not exceed more than two hundred persons including both Muslim and non-Muslim communities of the city of Srinagar. The resolutions passed in the meetings related to such matters as the opening of high and middle schools in villages and towns, the introduction of technical and industrial education in the schools, widening of roads, establishment of fuel depots, raising of the age of marriage to eighteen years, opening of hospitals, introduction of compulsory primary education, allotment of foreign contracts to the State subjects and the increase in the number of Municipal Commissioners[17] etc.

The Dogra Sabha did not prove a dynamic force in bringing about the desired change either in socio-economic or political spheres of the life of the people. Its activities regarding the developmental side of the State and its emphasis on the removal of social evils through State legislation did not go beyond passing a few resolutions from time to time. The Dogra Sabha did not rise up to the expectations of the common masses. The Sabha could not embark upon a revolutionary programme which could have ensured both socio-economic and political transformation. The Sabha failed to move the Government in getting its reso-

lutions implemented through legislation. In fact, the Dogra Sabha could not create public opinion in favour of its objectives. The Sabha was virtually a body of Dogra aristocracy and upper class interests and as such, it could not play the expected role either in matters of social reforms or in politics. Its role was that of a lip-sympathiser.

**Socio-Religious Movement of Kashmiri Pandits**

A socio-religious reform movement was started by Kashmiri Pandits in the beginning of the twenties of the present century. Two Kashmiri Pandits, namely, Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul and Pandit Vedlal Dhar Vakil formed an association called *Dharam Sabha.* The aims of the Dharam Sabha were to fight for the removal of social evils prevalent among the Kashmiri Pandits, to persuade the Pandit community to favour the re-marriage of widows, to help the spread of education among the Hindu females, to fight for the economic betterment of the Pandits, to reconvert to Hindu faith those persons who had professed other religions and to educate Kashmiri Pandits on the fundamentals of Hinduism.[18]

The Dharam Sabha had established an Anglo-Sanskrit School in Srinagar for imparting religious education to Hindus. The leaders of the Dharam Sabha were Sanatanists, who believed in Hindu Dharam as an ever-lasting religion. The members of the Sabha were required to propagate Hindu Dharam and help its spread. The Sabha was, however, dominated by the conservative Hindus like Pandit Amar Nath Kak. Though there were some radical young elements also, but they had no effective say. These young radicals were always in favour of radical change, such as re-marriage of widows. The conservative elements were opposed to widow-marriages. The issue of re-marriage of widows became a serious issue between the two diametrically opposed groups. As a result of these differences, the radical elements severed their connection with the Sabha and towards the ending year of the third decade of the present century they formed, under the leadership of Pandit P.N. Bazaz, a new organisation called Fraternity Society.

**Fraternity Society**

The Fraternity Society had established its office at Ganpatyar, Srinagar. The Society continued with the task of social reform. For this purpose, "It enlisted the support of young blood for the first time in Kashmir and gave the Pandit community a well-organised group of disinterested and selfless workers".[19] The chief architect of the Society, Pandit P.N. Bazaz, had entered into correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi over the issue of re-marriage of widows. The Mahatma in a letter to Pandit P.N. Bazaz had appealed to the young Hindus of Kashmir that they should refuse to marry until they found a widow.[20]

The Fraternity Society survived only for a short time. The Society worked for reforms which included the removal of all evil customs and practices connected with marriage ceremonies, exhortations urging upon the mothers-in-law to give just and respectable treatment to their daughters-in-law. The Society also urged upon the Pandit community to recognize the proprietary rights of Hindu women. But the Fraternity Society could not succeed in the achievement of its aim and objects. The main hinderances in its way were created by the tradition bound conservative upper class Hindus who wielded tremendous influence among the majority of the Kashmiri Pandits.

**Yuvak Sabha**

The Yuvak Sabha was another important socio-religious and political organisation of the Kashmiri Pandits. The necessity of forming the Yuvak Sabha was for reasons non-political in nature.[21] Many religious places of the Hindus, then in a dilapidated condition, needed to be set right so that, at least, *Pathshalas* could be started there for imparting religious education, and instruction to Hindu children in Hindi and Sanskrit. Since it was a non-political body, the Government had no hesitation to sanction recognition to the Yuvak Sabha. The Sabha established its office first at Shiwal's Temple, Gurubazar, but, after a short time, it was shifted to the house of Lala Ramji Das at Dewan Bagh (Karan Nagar), Srinagar. During political troubles in 1931 and thereafter the Yuvak Sabha became a common political forum for all the Kashmiri Pandits. The

main aims and objects of the Yuvak Sabha included :

1. Looking after, protecting and pleading the cause and rights of Kashmiri Pandits;
2. Urging upon the Government to see that the law and order was maintained in the State and to help the authorities in enforcing the same;
3. In infusing a spirit of patriotism among Kashmiri Pandits and helping the ruler in maintaining the State against anti-State elements;
4. Working for the social uplift of Kashmiri Pandits;
5. Pleading the cause of female education among Pandits;
6. Protecting and looking after the religious places of the Hindus, fighting for the restoration of those religious places to Hindu community which had been under dispute for a long time;
7. Helping the members of the Kashmiri Pandit community find a rightful place and status in the State by means of presenting to the Government their demands through deputations, petitions, memorials and other lawful means;
8. Preserving and helping the growth and development of Hindu culture, art, and religion; and
9. Striving for a peaceful life in the State.

The Yuvak Sabha as a major organisation of Kashmiri Pandits assumed a political role after 1931 in order to safeguard its own class interests as against the mass interests.

**Socio-Religious Movements of Muslims**

The beginning of the twentieth century brought the Muslim subjects of the Jammu and Kashmir State into the arena of socio-religious activities. The fundamental aim of the early Muslim socio-religious reform movements was to acquaint the Muslim masses with the causes of their stagnant conditions which had kept them in a state of backwardness for decades together under the rule of autocracies and despotism. The most important earliest socio-religious organisation was the *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam*, Srinagar.

**Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar**

The Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar was founded by late Mirwaiz of Kashmir, Moulvi Rasool Shah in 1905. The main cause of the Muslim backwardness as perceived by the Moulvi lay in their lack of education. In view of this, Moulvi Rasool Shah had already established a primary school in Srinagar in 1899 A.D. After eight years, the Moulvi with the consultation, guidance and cooperation of some eminent and influential Muslims of the Punjab established an Anjuman, namely, Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam.[23] The Anjuman threw membership open to every Muslim without any residential bar. The basic fee of the membership of the Anjuman was four annas.

**Aims of the Anjuman**

The main aims and objects of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam were to facilitate education for the most backward children of the Muslim community and help them in their educational efforts as much as possible, to infuse the true spirit of Islam, among the Muslim masses and to inculcate in them good manners, a sense of mutual cooperation and unity.[24] Every member of the Anjuman was also enjoined to make serious efforts for the realisation of the aims and objects of the Anjuman.

**Role of the Anjuman**

The role which the Anjuman played in the Muslim awakening in Kashmir had began with its missionary zeal and devotion. The first task before the Anjuman was to persuade the Muslims to take to education. It urged upon the Muslim parents to send their children to the school which the founder of the Anjuman had already started for this purpose. The school was brought under the direct control and management of the Anjuman which upgraded it to a High School within a couple of years. Many branch schools of Islamia High School were also established in Srinagar and some towns in the Kashmir province.

The Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam published its official journal called *Halat-P-Rou-i-Dad.* This journal was published every year and it contained every useful information about the yearly

activities of the Anjuman. It also contained the speeches delivered at the annual sessions of the Anjuman by prominent men from within and without the State. The student participation in such annual sessions marked a special feature of the Anjuman's activities.

**Religious ideology of the Anjuman**

The religious ideology of the Anjuman was based on the belief of the concept of *Tauheed* The leaders of the Anjuman preached to the people that "God is one an Absolute Reality without any partner. This concept of Tauheed is, therefore, a belief in the unity of one God-head".[25] It was through the concept of Tauheed that a spirit of unity and a sense of cooperation was generated among the Muslim masses who had hitherto remained more or less scattered. The Anjuman had, for the first time, provided a platform to the Muslims of Kashmir round which they gathered-together at least once a year.

**Educational role of the Anjuman**

The educational role of the Anjuman, in the beginning, was limited to the imparting of religious education. But soon the need for introducing the courses of study on wider basis and modern secular lines was felt necessary by its members. The Islamic theology remained, however, as a compulsory subject for all the Muslim students.

In their efforts to make educational facilities available to Muslims, the leaders of the Anjuman did not leave a single stone unturned in acquainting the Kashmiri Muslims with the benefits of education. The Muslim leaders had realised that "no nation can progress . . . . and . . . . no nation can claim to be civilized until it reaches the zenith of its educational career".[26] The educational programme of the Anjuman included education both for males and females. The learning of education, was therefore, "a duty on every man and woman".[27] The leaders of the Anjuman were also aware of the fact that the Muslims of Kashmir had been suffering from many disabilities, social, cultural, commercial and educational. The state of backwardness of their co-religionists and their lack of education had

lowered them in the eyes of the people outside the State. The Kashmiri Muslims were generally considered to be great liars, especially in their commercial dealings. They had been, however, pocketing such insults quite calmly, without making even a whimper against such insults. They knew that the policy of the State with regard to trade and commerce was not only defective but also discriminatory. The policy of over-taxation was also greatly responsible for such a state of affairs. Why was then a Kashmiri Muslim incriminated as a liar ? "No part of the world is without liars, but why are you (Kashmiri Muslims) the only people who have become victims of this (phrase)" ?, asked a leader and then gave answer himself, "the only reason is that you are not educated and commerce in this State has no principles".[28] The leaders of the Anjuman had, thus, been instrumental in transforming the Muslim masses according to the demands of the time.

The most important need of the time was to rouse the Muslim community from their deep slumber of ignorance and their dependent position. They had to be taught the lessons of self-help and self-confidence which alone could save them from their degrading conditions of backwardness. The Muslims had, in short, to stand on their own legs. The spirit of self-confidence and self-help was to be infused in the mind of the Muslim community, if at all it had to survive. This role was aptly performed by the leaders of the Anjuman. Time and again, they warned their co-religionists that in case they nid not follow the principles of self-help and self-confidence, none could save them from their fallen conditions—"Neither a king, nor a ruler, nor a Waiz (preacher) nor any admonitor, a sympathiser or a Rais . . . but only self-help themselves".[29]

Besides, some ideological impact of the Indian National Congress was obviously working on the minds of the leaders of the Anjuman. Like the Congress leaders of extremist section, the leaders of Nasarat-ul-Islam exploited the examples of foreign countries such as of Japan, German and Switzerland for infusing a spirit of self-reliance among the trading and commercial classes so that by following in their footsteps they would be able to make similar progress and advancement in their own State :

"Japan's example is before all of you, since the second half

of the last century, she has abruptly risen from her helpless condition and entered into the ranks of first rate powers of the world. The most powerful countries had to admit her strength. The reason for this is that Japanese make use of their God-given talents."[30]

**The Anjuman and Social reform**

The special decadence was also one of the backwardness of the Muslim community in Kashmir. The leaders of the Anjuman had perceived that there was an intimate relation between social reform and economic progress. Centuries of sufferings had, under feudalistic regimes, made the Muslims lazy, lethargic and tradition-bound. They had been suffering from various evil social customs. The need was to reform the community so that they were brought to the level of modernism. The man who thought in terms of social reform for the Muslims was one Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, himself an aristocrat, who had taken up himself the task of reforming the Muslim community as back as 1911.[31] The Mirza was one of the top influential men and an important member of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam. Since he had realised that he could not tackle the task of social reform single-handed, in 1922 he brought the issue before the Anjuman. This gave the Anjuman an opportunity "to think in terms of social reform movement, and a social reform committee was appointed by it for the purpose of removing social evils from among the Muslims".[32] At a meeting held on October 5, 1922, the Anjuman decided to prepare a list of all evil customs prevalent in various sections of the Muslim community. The task was assigned to Munshi Assad-ullah.[33] Another meeting of the Anjuman was held on July 8, 1923. The meeting was also attended by Sheikh Sadiq Hussain, Rais-i-Amritsar. Addressing the meeting the Sheikh said [34]:

"The preachers should preach in their sermons in every mosque that the people should raise their moral standard by observing the prayers, by keeping the fast, and that they should not speak a lie".

Another important step towards social reform was the meeting

of the social reform committee, held on December 25, 1925, at the residence of Mirza Ghulam Mustafa. After due deliberations, the following reforms were recommended :[35]

First, the Fatiha ceremony (prayers for the dead) held on Fridays should be abolished;
Secondly, only two dishes of meat and two dishes of vegetables be served to guests on weddings;
Thirdly, the parents of the bride and bridegroom should give dowry worth 25 to 400 rupees;
Fourthly, only relatives of the concerned be invited to a feast on the occasion of the circumcision ceremony; the barbers fee for performing the circumcision operation should be met by the parents alone and no invitee should be allowed to contribute to it; and
Finally, evil customs connected with marriages such as sending *Khabars* (Paying a courtesy call to the bride and taking gifts in cash or kind or both) to the in-laws of daughter be stopped

The aim of introducing these reforms was to save extravagant expenditure on marriages and death ceremonies. Spending money extravagantly on such occasions had become a habit with the people with the result that the poor had often to borrow money to defray the expenses incurred on such occasions In order to prevent them from continuing with these evil customs, a programme was chalked by the Anjuman. Accordingly the members and the *Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir* were directed to preach these reforms to the Muslims at public meeting and in shrines and mosques at the time of prayer meetings. Also a tract on social reform entitled Dastur-ul-Amal was compiled and published under the signatures of the leaders of the Anjuman. The tract was sold to people on payment. The Dastur-ul-Amal was, in fact, one of the remedies for economic evils for the Muslims of Kashmir.

The struggle for securing the Muslims of Kashmir their rights and civil liberties formed an important part of the mission of the Anjumau-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam. By the beginning of the twenties of the present century, the Anjuman had successfully widened its wings over a considerable area in the field of Muslims'

education. It had turned out a good number of educated Muslims who were expected to play their role for the community's welfare. From the end of World War I upto 1931 the Anjuman engaged itself in taking up with the Government issues related to educational facilities for the Kashmiri Muslims, the Muslim representation in Government services, dispute over religious places, the share of Muslims in law-making body of the State, etc. In sorting out these issues with the Government the role of the leaders of the Anjuman was always methodical, constitutional and moderate. The methods which the leaders employed for the realisation of their demands included deputations, passing of resolutions, convening public meetings and preaching in mosques and other religious places.

**Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar**

The Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, Srinagar was founded by a few Punjabi Muslims just after the First World War had broken out. This dynamic force behind this Anjuman was one Babu Mohammad Ibrahim.[36] The urgency for formation of the Anjuman was felt to ameliorate the conditions of the Muslims of Kashmir whose state of existence was extremely pitiable. The Anjuman had its own orphanage for free board and lodge for all those orphans who were admitted to it It also made arrangements for their education and vocational training.

In order to meet the expenses, the Anjuman collected funds through donations in and outside the State.[37] and the membership fee. It also issued appeals to all Muslims for financial assistance through the office of the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference.[38]

**Aims and Objects**

The primary aim of the Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam, was to encourage the Muslims of Kashmir in their pursuit for education including the learning of "technical and commercial education".[39] The following were the aims and objects of the Anjuman:[40]

> First, to bear all the expenses for the burial of the dead bodies of the Muslim villagers thrown into the mortuary

after these were declared unclaimed or heirless by the doctors in the Government hospitals;
Secondly, to grant scholarship worth rupees four per month to those Muslim students who had passed the Middle standard but could not continue their further studies due to poverty; and
Thirdly, to help parentless Muslim children in their education and vocation by admitting them to the orphanage established and maintained by the Anjuman.

**Role**

The Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam had come into existence as a purely non-political body. Its main concern was to bring about a change in the thinking and outlook of the Muslims of Kashmir so that they would live in unity and cooperation with one another. The lesson in unity and cooperation was taught to the Muslim masses by means of the Anjuman's activities which included the organisation of public meetings, and public processions. Every public meeting or public function or public procession arranged by the Anjuman started with the recitation of the verses from the Holy Quran. This was followed by the singing of religious songs, encomimiums and other poems, reflecting the spirit of brotherhood, patriotism, fellow-feeling self-sacrifice and praises for the Anjuman and its workers. The supremacy of Islam was emphasized so that the Muslim came to understand the advantages of living in cooperation, peace and harmony. This does not, however, mean that the Anjuman was a communal body. Its secular character revealed itself as its leaders impressed on their co-religionists the need for living in peace and harmony not only among themselves but also "with the people belonging to other religions".[41] In addition to its reformatory mission, the Anjuman, according to the demands of the time, entrusted itself in political or semi-political activities of the Muslim community in Kashmir. By participating in political activities, such as, public processions of political nature, the Anjuman identified itself with the common cause of the Muslim subjects of the State. Its political activities came to light on the occasion of the labour rising which took place in the Government Silk Factory Srinagar in 1924. The workers

of the Anjuman participated in the procession, protest meetings and demonstrations of the Silk Factory workers. As a result of these activities, the president of the Anjuman, Babu Ibrahim, was forced by the Government to leave the State territories whereupon he left for Rawalpindi. After 1924 the Anjuman began to grow weak and by the beginning of 1931 it was almost extinct.

**Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz i-Namaz-wa-Satri-Masturat**

The Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-wa-Satri-Masturat came into existence in 1923 through the efforts of Azad Quraishi, Hakim Mohammad Quraishi and Ghulam Mohammad Alvi. The Anjuman was "purely a religious body. It had no concern with politics."[42] The main mission of the Anjuman was to acquaint the Muslims of Kashmir in general and those living in villages in particular with the tenets of Islam and also to help them in eradicating social evils prevalent among the Muslims. The Anjuman had set before it the following aims:[43]

> First, that the Muslims should strictly observe the prayers, that the Muslim women should cover themselves in decent clothes, that is, they should properly cover parts of the body like head and legs;
> Secondly, that the Muslims should be instructed both in religious and secular education either through preaching or through schools opened for this purpose;
> Thirdly, that all traffic in women should be stopped, that the marriage contracts should be duly registered in a court of law; and
> Finally, that the Muslim subjects should remain loyal to the Maharaja.

The Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-wa-Satri-Masturat survived only for a short period of about three years. During its life; the leaders of this reformatory movement undertook a programme of touring different parts of the valley to explain to the people the basic tenets of Islam, the basic things about personal hygiene and sartorial decency. At many a place the reformers practically compelled the women to wear Pyjamas and cover the heads

properly.[44] Moreover, the activities of the Anjuman included getting bathrooms constructed and urging the people to establish schools for their children. Education, both secular and religious, constituted the most important programme of the Anjuman's policy.

Another problem the reformers took up was that of divorce among the Muslims. This problem had taken a serious turn, affecting especially the women's morals. In many cases a divorced woman fell victim of immoral practices. She was either carried away by an ill-charactered man who, for purposes of earning money, sold her body to others. These things needed an immediate check. Moreover, often the cases of divorce were decided by the Mullahs and Muftis and this earned them a good income. Also a divorce case involved the parties in litigation which squeezed them financially. In order to check them, the reformers wanted the Government to pass social legislation making it compulsory for the Muslims to get every marriage contract and divorce deed registered with a court of law. These reformers were state-interventionists and wanted legislation "on lines of the Punjab Government."[45]

The reformatory mission of the Anjuman was acutely opposed by the Mullahs and the Muftis because they feared that in case the State made laws were made applicable to cases of marriages and divorce, they would be deprived of their income. The opposition became so vehement that the reformers, being nicknamed as *Yezar Pirs*,[46] were forced to abandon their mission and the reform movement very shortly fizzled out of existence.

**Young Mens Muslim Association, Jammu**

The Young Mens Muslim Association, Jammu, was formed towards the close of the twenties of the present century. It was founded by intellectuals, namely Shiekh Hamid Ullah (Advocate), Allahrakha Sagar, Mr. Quraishi, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, Gouhar Abdul Rehman, Editor Mohammad Gouri and Hakim Sahib. The Association was basically formed with a view to spread education among the Muslims, and to defend Islam against attacks by men professing other religions. The members of the Association had, however, set before them the following aims[47] :

First, to reform the Muslim community and to foster a spirit of cooperation among them;
Secondly, to construct 'Janaz-gah' (a place where prayers are offered to the dead before the corpse is buried) and "Sabil-gah" (a shed or place where the water is supplied to the travellers free of cost);
Thirdly, to help poor students in their educational career;
Fourthly, to make arrangements for the burial of unclaimed or heirless dead bodies of Muslims;
Fifthly, to work for the maintenance of the Awqaf and to construct mosques;
Sixthly, to persuade Muslims to give up bad customs connected with marriage and death ceremonies; and
Finally, to render social service to all people of the State without discrimination on grounds of race and religion.

The Association had established an office and a library. But when the Association got itself transformed into a full-fledged political organisation in 1931, it gave birth to young cadres and trained workers who played a very significant contributory role during the freedom struggle in the State.

**Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu**

The Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu, was the oldest of all associations in Jammu. It was semi-political body. Its mission was to fight for the protection of the rights of the Muslim subjects, to work for their educational advancement and to pursue the Muslim subjects to give up evil social customs. For achieving the above aims, the Anjuman organised public meetings at which speeches were delivered by men of rank and influence. The resolutions passed at its meetings from time to time were sent to the Government for consideration. The leaders of the Anjuman[48] believed in constitutional methods and they always pursued the policy of moderation in fighting for its ends.

**Impact of Khwaja Hassan Nizami's Socio-Religious Reform Movement**

The impact of Khwaja Hassan Nizami's socio-religious reform

movement was felt in some of the Muslim majority areas of the Jammu province. In a letter to the editor of the *Munadi*, Delhi, Munshi Mohammad Assa-ullah of Bazar Chougan, Budrwah wrote :[49]

> "We are happy to learn from the study of the newspaper such as the *Nizam-ul-Muashayakh*, the *Munadi* and the *Darwesh* that your revered-self is busy in serving the interests of the Muslims... Your movement has begun to influence the Muslims of this place. Most of them have decided not to celebrate Chati"[50].

The immediate impact of the Khwaja's reform movement was that the Muslims of Budrwah established an association, called the *Shabab-ul-Muslimin* to implement the general aims of Khwaja Hassan Nizami's movement. Inspired by the movement, the Muslim subjects of Poonch formed a social reform committee at Plandari. The Committee's main function was to work for social reform and help the spread of education among the Muslims of Poonch. They had felt that the "Muslims of Poonch were far behind their co-religionists in other parts of India in education and culture".[51] The Social Reform Committee established a Reading Room at Plandari to develop among the Muslims the habit of newspaper study which they thought might create an interest for education among them. Many influential Muslims of Poonch were members of the Committee. The movement of Khwaja Hassan Nizami was, therefore, responsible to some extent for bringing about a social consciousness among the Muslims of backward areas, such as, Budrwah and Poonch in the Jammu province.

**Conclusion**

With the advent of the Dogra rule began a new era in the history of the Jammu and Kashmir State. During the first fifty years of their rule, the Dogras were not only busy in consolidating their power and position but also emphasised force as a basis for the Government to function and a method to achieve political purpose. The approach continued in the subsequent period also. The nature of their rule being largely

personal and autocratic, the Dogra not only retained the erstwhile feudal order but also made it more broad-based by means of liberal grants of estates to *Jagirdars, Zaildars, Chakdars,* State official and those prominent subjects who supported the rule of autocracy and despotism. The system of administration under the Dogras was also corrupt and exploitative in character. Except clerical posts and teaching jobs, almost all key posts as well as other important cadres in the administration were manned by the persons from outside the State, especially from the Punjab. Again, in the appointment of ordinary services, a policy of discrimination was followed against the Muslim subjects who formed an overwhelming majority of the State. This policy of discrimination, corruption and exploitation was followed in every department. Thus, the peasantry was subjected to various kinds of oppressions ranging from forced labour to illegal exactions. They were also heavily taxed by the Government. The same was the case with industrial working class. The trade and commerce had become the monopoly with the wholesale traders from outside the State. The native traders enjoyed simply the status of retailers. This state of affairs had caused a great economic stagnation, resulting into extreme poverty of the masses. The economic distress coupled with the lack of employment opportunities for the natives especially the Muslim subjects, because of the dominance of the Punjabi non-Muslim non-State subjects both in State services, trade and commerce, caused discontent. Under the personal rule of the prince supported by feudalistic order, any expression of disgruntlement, direct or indirect, on the part of the peop'e against the State or its officials was considered sedition. The people were completely cowed down., The formation of associations was out of question. This state of affairs had rendered the masses cowards, lethargic, indolent and submissive.

The devastating impact of an irresponsible Government on its subjects necessitated an inquiry into the causes of its ills and their remedies. It required a thorough search for moral certainty with a view to produce a morally sound and socially conscious valiant workers for the task of an integrated action. In order to achieve this purpose, the hitherto submissive and scattered masses were to be aroused from a long slumber of ignorance, backwardness, illiteracy and superstitions. Once the masses

became awakened, united, conscious of their self, their role and responsibilities, the other tasks for the emancipation form the life of bondage would be easy to be performed. The awakening was bound to lead to political liberation. The role was aptly played by the early socio-religious reform movements in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The early socio-religious reform movements in Kashmir arise both among the Muslims and the Hindus on separate lines. Except the Arya Samaj, all other reform movements, major or minor, originated with the native subjects of the State. These movements among both the communities showed the same trend towards the need for moral reform. The leaders of both the communities desired to bring about a spirit of oneness, unity and cooperation, among the members of their respective communities. In order to achieve this end, the Muslim reformers preached Islamic brotherhood and the concept of Tauheed, the Hindus that of Hindu *Sangathan* and the concept of *Sanatan Dharma*. Through these reform movements, both the communities fought for the removal of social evils and blind traditions prevalent among them. But, it is true, that these reform movements were not primarily or directly political. Yet they had indirect consequences of a far-reaching significance. These reform movements were indirectly aiming at attaining political and civil rights for their respective communities. The leaders of the Muslim community were educating their co-religionists on the problems of Muslim backwardness and their social deficiency which had resulted from the neglect of the true religion, their illiteracy due to the apathy of the officials towards Muslim education as well as their own poverty, the absence of proprietary rights in land and the policy of discrimination towards the community. In this way the Muslim reform movements like the Hindu reform movements had prepared a ground for political revolution emerged in the 30s of this century and was unhesitatingly supported by socially and politically conscious masses.

## NOTES

1. Gopal Krishna, *Religion in Politics (a trend report)*, ICSSR, New Delhi.
2. Jammu and Kashmir State Archives File No. *215 of 1910*.
3. Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, File No. *157/C-11 Political Department* (Government Records).
4. The Arya Kumar Sabha was founded by Pandit Ram Chander Abhai, Pandit Mahadev Joo Bhan and Pandit Janki Nath Dhar, Information gathered in an interview with Pandit Ram Chander Abhai—July, 1972.
5. Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, File No. *261/28-C, 1917 Political Department*, (Government Records).
6. *Ibid.*
7. Interview with Shri Bed Lal Dhar Vakil, May, 1973.
8. Interview with Ram Chander Abhai, *op. cit.*
9. J&K Archives, File No. *157/C-11, Political Department, 1921*
10. Hafiz Mohd. Ismail, *Personal Diary (1907-1955) an unpublished manuscript*, July 30, 1923.
11. *Ibid*, June 2, 1928; item-3.
12. J&K Archives, *File No. 43/C-m.*
13. The founder of the Dogra Sabha was one Lala Hansraj. Interview with Mulk Raj Anand Saraf, May 21, 1973.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Hafiz Mohd. Ismail, *op. cit.*, September 26, 1926; item-2.
16. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1926, item-2 and October 11, 1926.
17. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1926; item-4 and October 15, 1926 item-1.
18. Interview with Shumboo Nath Bhan, July 1973.
19. *Ibid.*
20. The letter was kept in a frame and was kept in the office of Fraternity Society for public information. Interview with Pandit Ved Lal Dhar Vakil, *op. cit.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Interview with Shumboo Nath Bhan, *op. cit.*
23. Moulvi Attiq-Ullah Shah, *Seerat-ul-Waizeen*, (Lahore, *Rifai-Am* Press), p. 24.
24. Every issue of the Anjuman's official Journal, *Halat-o-Rou-i-Dad* contained in the inner side of its title cover the aims and objects of the Anjuman.
25. Speech delivered by Moulvi Anwar Shah Lolabi at the Second Annual Session of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, *Halat-o-Rou-i-Dad*, p. 30.
26. Speech delivered by Munshi Ghulam Mohammad Khadim at the second annual session of Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, *Ibid.*, p. 41.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. Speech delivered by Saad-ud-Din Shawl at the second annual session of the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, *Ibid*, p. 63.
30. Speech delivered by Khwaja Mohammad Maqbook Pandit at the

annual session of the Anjuman in 1915, *Halat-o-Rou-i-Dad* (Srinagar : Pratap Press), p. 39.

31. Munshi Mohammad Din Fouq, *Tarikh-i-Awwami-Kashmir*, Vol. 2, page 89
32. Hafiz Mohd. Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated July 4, 1922; item-3.
33. *Ibid.*, dated October 5, 1922; item-2.
34. *Ibid.*, dated July 8, 1923; item-3.
35. *Ibid*, dated December 20. 1925; item-3.
36. Munshi Mohammad Din Fouq, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
37 "A deputation of 5 members was sent by the 'Anjuman' to Ghulam Sadiq of Amritsar and another (deputation) of seven members was appointed to go tomorrow at 2. p.m. to Nawab of Bhawalpur for the grant of some donation to the Anjuman", Hafiz Mohd. Ismail, *op. cit.*, dated October 16, 1918; item-2.
38. *The Zamindar*, Lahore, August 3, 1928.
39 *Ibid.*
40. Interview with Khushdil Kashmir, Ali Kadal, Srinagar on May 11, 1973.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Rais Sheer Ali Khan, Jagirdar Rampur's views on the Anjuman-i-Tuhaffuz-i-Namaz-wa-Satri-Masturat, *Akhbar-i-Kashmir*, Lahore, July 25, 1925.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Most men and women, generally in villages, did not wear Pyjamas, and the women did not wear veils. From the point of view of hygiene, most people remained unwashed and shabby.
45. *The Akhbar-i-Kashmir*, (Lahore), February 21, 1929.
46. Yezar in Kashmiri means Pyjama. Since these reformers stressed the propriety of wearing Pyjamas, they came to be called the Yezar Peers or the priests only caring for Pyjamas.
47. *The Zamindar*, Lahore, 1928.
48. The founders of Anjuman-i-Islamia Jammu were Major-General Samander Khan, Raja Farman Ali Khan, Mistry Yaqub Ali and Syed Assad-u'lah Shah, Chaudhary Ghu'am Abbas joined it at a later stage. Information gathered in an interview with Mulk Raj Anand Saraf, *op cit.*
49. *The Munadi*, Delhi, June 8, 1926.
50. Sixth day after the birth of a child. On this day the house goes on a thorough cleaning, the midwife receives her present, the mother and the child are bathed, the child is named and friends and relatives are invited to dinner.
51. *The Munadi*, Delhi, October 5, 1927.

# 10

# *Genesis of the Freedom Movement in Kashmir*

TARAQ WAHEED

The observation that politics without history has no root and history without politics has no fruit, by the famous British historian, Prof. Seeley proves to be true when applied to the problem of freedom movement in Kashmir. The genesis of the movement cannot be traced without an appreciation of historical background and prevalent social, political, and economic conditions of the State.

The Jammu and Kashmir was one of the six hundred principalities which did not form part of the British India. Historically the main common feature distinguishing these territories from the provinces was that, unlike the latter, they had not been annexed by the British power. Thus, politically speaking, there were two India's, 'British India', governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian legislature, and 'the Indian States' under the suzerainty of the Crown and still for the most part under the personal rule of the Princes.[1]

The State of Jammu and Kashmir represents the picture of a multiracial society, speaking different languages, having different religions and conforming to different traditions in dress, manners, and customs.[2] As Balraj Madhok says in 'Kashmir Divided': "The Jammu and Kashmir as at present constituted.....is

simply a political entity. It is a conglomeration of at least six distinct peoples inhabiting well defined parts or zones of the State and each having a distinct language, culture, customs, manners and history."[3] Nevertheless, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an example of 'unity in diversity'.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir can also claim distinction in relation to other parts of India in the number of invasions, the magnitude of tyranny, the depth of anarchy, and cruel exploitation it has undergone during different phases of the history.[4] With an occasional rebate the country has been haunted for four or five centuries, by bigotry, greed and fear as a result of which the people were emasculated and the whole state reduced to wretchedness and poverty beyond description. The Pathans had drained the life blood of the community and Gulab Singh had to pay Rs. 7,500,000, a very large amount in those days, to the British under the Treaty of Amritsar, an amount which could come only from the sweat and toil of the Kashmiris.[5]

Like the previous rulers in Kashmir the Dogra rule was also authoritarian and autocratic, but in this period some important developments took place. First, anarchy, chaos, confusion and constant warfare yielded place to enforcement of law and order.[6] Secondly, the waves of modern thought and ideas began to have their impact on the State for the people were now in the twentieth century, on the threshold of new ideas of freedom and popular rights. Thirdly, the period saw the rise of a determination to resist the intrusion of outsiders into the State and to struggle for equality.

The Freedom Movement in Jammu and Kashmir had its origin in the widespread discontent among the masses of the State. The Muslims in particular who were 78 per cent of the total population of the State—like the majority of Indians in the rest of the sub-continent—did not have adequate representation in the government services and in the economic life of the State. The majority of the Muslim population was tillers, labourers and artisans—classes which were generally exploited. The Muslims were not given adequate educational opportunities in the colleges and schools. Thus the community remained educationally very backward.

R.L. Handa in his, *Freedom Struggle in Princely States*, holds,

"agrarian discontent and paucity of employment opportunities were thus the motivating force for the Muslim masses to agitate against the Dogra regime".[7] This view is also supported by Teng and Koul in, *Ideological Foundations of the National Movement in Kashmir*. "The agrarian economic frame.....and administrative organisations of the State also offered a very restricted margin of employment. In fact most of the administrative offices were filled by the Government of India from among its civil service cadres and wherever any posts were left, they were given away by the Dogras on political and other considerations....."[8]

Poor, downtrodden, and, exploited, the people of Kashmir were bound to strive for political and economic emancipation. The first shot was fired during the days of the great famine, when a memorandum was submitted to Viceroy by some unknown Kashmiris in 1877. In the memorandum it was said that in order to save the expenses of feeding his people during the famine the Maharaja actually drowned his poor Muslim subjects by boat-loads in the Wullar lake. The memorandum also contained the grievances about misgovernment and maladministration.

The British Government appointed a mixed commission to enquire into the truth of the charges but the Maharaja was exonerated—perhaps no one had the courage to come forward to give evidence. But this made the British government realise that they could not help the Kashmiris unless they could have direct hand in the administration of the State. This they could not do under the provisions of the Treaty of Amritsar which left the Dogras completely free to deal with the internal administration as they liked.[9]

In the beginning of the present century, the struggle for the rights of the people living in the State against outsiders took a definite shape. As described by P.N. Bazaz in, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, "Armies of outsiders trailed behind the officers from the plains with no more interest than to draw as much as they could, and then to depart leaving behind their kindered as successors to continue the drain; and thus was established a hierarchy in the services with the result that profits and wealth passed into the hands of the outsiders and the indigenous subjects lost enterprise and independence."

He further explained, "while the masses were groaning under the unbearable load of taxes and crushing poverty, the middle and the upper classes felt displeased and resentful because of this outside domination in every branch of the administration. The feeling of resentment which was running underground for centuries, found an outward expression, though it was not yet directed against the ruler or his administration as such."[10]

The Government of India having entertained the representations of the people, sent instructions in a letter to the Kashmir Darbar that the *mulkis* should be given preference in the State employment. As the instructions were vague so it did not produce any effect because any outsider could claim to be *mulki* by simply declaring himself to be one.[11]

The struggle continued because the people were becoming familiar with Western means and devices as in the British India groups with new interests and new ways of living were appearing and a new system of education was enlightening their minds.[12] Two colleges, one at Srinagar and one at Jammu were opened. Many youngmen passed out of these institutions were imbibed with the spirit of new age. They were inspired by the role of youngmen in the political movements of Turkey, Ireland, Egypt. The tide of democracy in the West impressed them. A number of social and political organisations like Dogra Sadar Sabham, the Muslim Youngmen's Association and Mahajan Sabha were founded in the State. The organisations reflected the deeping frustration in the educated youth and espoused the cause of wider political and administrative participation. Not only this, the educated youth also demanded the elimination of these outside elements from the administrative structure.[13]

In 1912, the Government of the State accepted the demand of *mulki* and a definition of 'State Subject' was formulated for the first time. A State Subject was one who had obtained an Ijazat Nama, a certificate entitling the holder all the rights of the citizenship. In spite of that the outsiders continued to be imported by their kith and kin, who held the important offices in the State Government. This revived the spirit of freedom and the people continued to fight for the exit of the outsiders.

The Muslims in particular gradually began to feel to more acutely their educational backwardness. They approached the Government to make up the deficiency in the sphere of

education. In 1915 All India Muslim Educational Conference sent a delegation to request Maharaja to grant educational facilities to the Muslims of the State.[14] In the beginning the requests were not heeded by the Government of the State. But when the Britishers became the defenders of the rights of the Muslims, the demand became irresistible and Maharaja had to move in this direction. In 1916 at the request of Maharaja, Mr. Sharp, then Educational Commissioner of India visited the State to enquire into the grievances of the people and made recommendations. However, the State authorities did not implement the recommendations. The demand of the Muslims remained unmet and they continued to protest from time to time.

In the meantime the non-Muslim communities were making the best use of educational institutions and began to capture the low as well as high posts in the Government offices. As the discontent among the Muslims spread they started voicing their feelings. In 1924, the employees of the Government Silk Factory in Srinagar, launched an agitation against the cruel attitude and malpractices of the corrupt officials of the autocratic Government. The agitation was suppressed by the authorities with a firm hand. But this did not deter the spirit of the people for freedom.[15]

In 1924 a few leading Kashmiri Muslims Khawaja Syed-ul-Din Shawl, Kh. Maqbool Pandit, Kh. Noor Shaw Naqshbandi, Mir Waiz Maulvi Ahmad-Ullaha, Mir Waiz Ahmad Ullaha Hamdani, Kh. Syed Hussan Shah Jalali and Kh. Hussain Shah became bold enough and presented a memorandum to the Viceroy Lord Reading on his visit to Srinagar. In the memorandum the Muslims demanded:

1. Expansion of educational facilities for the Muslims,
2. Reservation for Muslims in State Services,
3. Proprietary rights of the lands should be given to the peasants,
4. Restoration of shrines and places of worship under the control of the Government, and
5. Abolition of *Begar*.[16]

There was nothing revolutionary in the demands as P.N. Bazaz

calls them modest and reasonable. But Maharaja took an offence at their submission to the Viceroy. A committee consisting of a European, a Hindu and a Mohammadan, examined the memorial and reported that there was no substance in it. Kh. Syed-ul-Din Shawl and Kh. Noor Shah were exiled and their landed property confiscated. The two Mir Waizs were let off with a warning, but all official privileges enjoyed by them were immediately stopped. The demonstrators were summarily dealt with and punished.[17] The memorandum, therefore, brought nothing to the Muslims but it certainly gave a fillip to their movement to put forth their demands in an organised manner.[18]

Kashmir was already seething with discontent. The shawl trade which had been subjected to rigorous impositions had declined. This caused a great deal of unemployment among the weavers. The conditions of shawl weavers, paper machie artisans, workers of silk factories and artisans was deplorable. Disgusted with the unimaginative mind of the rulers Sir Albion Bannerji resigned the post of the Foreign and Political Minister which he had held for over two years. On 15th of March, 1929 his observations on the political, social and economic conditions in the State made before a representative of the Associated Press at Lahore produced a deep effect on the minds of the people of Kashmir. He said, "Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages with a large Mohammadan population absolutely illiterate labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the peoples' wants and grievances". He also said, "there is hardly any public opinion in the State. As regards the Press, it is practically non-existent, with the result that the government is not benefited to the extent that it should be by the healthy criticism."[19]

The words of Sir Albion Bannerji produced a stir in the young minds. He may aptly be said to have awakened them from the slumber. The political awakening owes its origin to his pen.[20]

According to G.H. Aijaz the statement awakened the educated class who had become conscious of this miserable plight and began to find opportunities of voicing their grievances.[21]

In the meanwhile, the struggle for freedom was raging in India. It was in the early thirties that the Congress had moved into a position of uncompromising opposition to the British rule in India and given the slogan of complete independence (Poorna Swaraj). It was inevitable that Freedom Movement in India should create its own repercussions in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah had also written in his preface to *New Kashmir* of the links between the Indian National Movement and the growth of Kashmir's struggle for freedom. He wrote, "It was during this period that the whole of India was shaken into a new awakening following the civil disobedience movement of 1931 and it had its own psychological influence upon us."[22]

The development of the Congress movement and of the Khudai Khidmatgars in the North-Western Frontier Provinces had considerable influence on Kashmir. Krishna Menon has also written in *Unity of India*, "The two are adjoining neighbours and have many contacts. Though Afghans and the Kashmiris differs so much culturally, intellectually, physically and emotionally, yet in spite of these differences there is much in common, and the political upheaval in the Frontier Provinces was bound to produce its reactions in Kashmir."[23]

The Muslim politics in Punjab had deep impact on the Muslim movement in Kashmir. A number of journals, 'Mazloom Kashmir', 'Muslmanan-i-Kashmir', 'Kashmiri Tarjaman', 'Mazloom-ki-Awaz', advocated the cause of the Kashmiri Muslims.[24] A number of Kashmir Muslim committees also sprang up all over the Punjab and a Central Kashmir Committee was constituted at Lahore to coordinate the work of the committees and canalise their efforts. The man of Sir Mohammad Iqbal's stature, himself a Kashmiri, headed the central committee and took up the cause of Kashmiris.[25]

The 12th of April, 1930 was a glorious day in the history of freedom struggle in Kashmir. As on this day Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Mohammad Rajab, Qazi Saif-ul-din-Qadri, Ghulam Ahmad Mukhtar returned to their home state, after receiving higher education in Aligarh. These educated youngmen formed an informal association known as Reading Room Party as there

existed no freedom of association. They would often meet to hold discussions as to how they should redress their grievances. They were to get adequate representation for Muslims in the State Services.[26] These youngmen approached the State cabinet which was governing the country in absence of Maharaja who had gone to London to attend the Round Table Conference. A deputation of two members was selected to meet the Cabinet. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Abdul Aziz Fazli, the members of the deputation, tried their level best to convince the cabinet members to amend the recruiting rules so as to give employment opportunities to the educated Muslim youth. The outcome of the interview was disappointing. The cabinet refused to reserve jobs for the Muslims. The Muslim youngmen might lack the courage to take up the struggle but forces working in the country would not let them sleep.[27]

The dissatisfaction among all sections of Kashmir people was growing and had indeed reached a very high pitch. The Punjab Muslims of different shades of opinion such as Ahrars and Ahmadis were pleading the cause of Kashmiri Muslims against the absolutism of Dogra rule.

These youngmen developed contact with Sir Albion Bannerji. Sir Bannerji was editing *Indian States*, in London. The articles published in this magazine played a vital role in exposing the corrupt practices of the government all over England.

The top ranking leaders of Indian National Movement were also inspiring these youngmen. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said: 'The Reading Room is the foundation stone of bright and prosperous future of Kashmir". Azad Subhani, a prominent preacher of pan Islamic Movement, secretly entered Kashmir. He would often attend the meetings of Reading Room to inspire and provide the guidelines to these youngmen.[28] In subsequent years the members of the Reading Room became a leading light in the struggle for freedom.

On April 29, 1931, an ugly incident occurred at Jammu. The State police interfered with the recitation of Khutaba after the usual prayers by the Muslims.[29] The tension mounted rapidly all over the Jammu province. The Muslims of Jammu sent a four-member delegation to join with the representatives of Kashmir to represent their grievances before Maharaja Hari Singh. The four members from Jammu were Chowdhary

Ghulam Abbas, Mistri Mohammad Yaqoob, Sardar Gohur Rehman and Sheikh Abdul Hamid Vakil.

The incident of Jammu evoked spirited response from the Muslims in the Kashmir province because the news of this incident spread in the whole of the Valley like wildfire. On June 25, 1931, at Khanqah-e-Maulla, a public meeting was arranged. The Muslim representatives from Kashmir: (1) Maulana Mohammad Yousf Shah, Mirwaiz, (2) Maulana Ahmadullah Hamdani, Mirwaiz, (3) Kh. Saduddin Shawal, Rayees, (4) Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Rayees, (5) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Educated youth, (6) Kh. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Educationist, (7) Kh. Shahabuddin, Rayees, along with the representatives from Jammu also attended the meeting.[30] It was resolved in the meeting that the representatives would call on the Maharaja in connection with the public demands.

G.H. Aijaz gives an eyewitness account of the happening in his, "Roots of Kashmir Freedom Movement—I", "As soon as the function was over and the representatives had left the rostrum, one Abdul Qadeer, a servant of an English visitor in Kashmir, appears on the stage and made the audience to listen to him. The audience who were ready to disperse took back to their seats and listened to Qadeer's words very attentively. While making the speech, it could not be difficult to gather, that he was sufficiently literate and politically conscious. He asked the people to prepare themselves for the struggle against tyranny and oppression of the feudal lords, free themselves from the shackles of the Maharaja's despotism at any cost...his each and every word left deep and indelible impact on their minds. He warned the people not to be swayed by or feel tempted to the manoeuvres of the Maharaja but face him with grim determination. He told the people that freedom does not come automatically in golden plates but it is to be wrested after paying a heavy price by the people. He made it clear that the sovereignty of the State did not rest with any single individual and no person can hold a larger number of God's creatures in this part of the world in his subjugation. The fountain-head of the State's sovereignty was its entire population."[31]

The speech of Abdul Qadeer awakened the people and they started to think seriously of their destiny, shape, future strategy and prepare themselves to face any eventuality at any price.

Abdul Qadeer was arrested and charged under sections 124 and 125 of R.P.C.* for his alleged seditious speech and thereby disturbing the peace and inciting the people for revolt against the Government. There were demonstrations in the whole of the city for demanding the immediate release of Abdul Qadeer.

On July 13, 1931, the demonstrators had gathered outside the prison walls wherein Qadeer's trial was taking place. The police opened fire on the demonstrators without any warning. As a result of this incident, 21 people were reported to be killed by the bullets of the police.[32] This incident shook the whole State administration. An official commission under the presidentship of Sir Barjore Balal, was set up to enquire into the causes of the happenings. The enquiry was boycotted by the Muslims.

The desire of the people for the freedom from authoritarian rule received a new thrust with the sudden and vital turn the events took place on July 13, 1931. The sensational event made the same Kashmiri determined, who four hundred years back had surrendered his freedom to Moghuls; who for about seventy-one years served quite meekly to the Afghans; who was looked down by Sikh rulers; who was contemptuously treated by the Dogras, to throw off all sorts of shackles and go ahead with his head up with the freedom struggle. Every Kashmiri considered it now his sacred duty to make every sacrifice for the success of the freedom movement.[33]

Historians of the Freedom struggle in Kashmir consider this day as the beginning of the struggle for independence and freedom in the modern sense. In his *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, P.N. Bazaz says: "Doubtless in 1931 the struggle was aggressively communal outwardly, but those who have not shut their eyes could see that it was in essence the struggle of victimised and enslaved people against the despotic rule. It was sooner or later bound to proceed on the right track.[34]

* Ranbir Penal Code.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

BAZAZ, PREM NATH—*The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, Cultural and Political from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, Kashmir Publishing House, New Delhi, 1954.

GUPTA, SISIR—*Kashmir*, A Study in India-Pakistan Relations, Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1966.

HANDA, R.L.—*History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States*, Central News Agency, New Delhi, 1968.

KHAN MOHAMMAD ISHAQ—*History of Srinagar* (1846-1947). A Study in Social-Cultural Change, Asmir Publications, Srinagar, 1978.

SHARMA, B.L.—*Kashmir Awakes*, Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1971.

TENG, M.K., BHATT, R.K.K., KOUL, SANTOSH—*Kashmir*, Constitutional History and Documents, Light and Life Publishers, Jammu, 1977.

TASEER, RASHEED—*Tahreek-i-Hurriyat Kashmir*, Mahafaz Publications, Srinagar, 1968.

### Articles

AIJAZ, G.H.—"Roots of the Kashmir Freedom Movement—I," *Kashmir Today*, Department of Information, J&K Government, February-March 1978.

MAKHDOOMI, PIR AFZAL—"Tahreek-i-Hurriyat", *Aina*, September 7, 1971, Srinagar.

TENG, M.K., KOUL, SANTOSH—"Ideological Foundations of the National Movement in Kashmir (1901-30)," *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. IV, No. II, Post-Graduate Department of Political Science, D.A.V. College, Jullundur.

"New Kashmir", Published by K.N. Bamzi, The Director, Kashmir Bureau of Information, 5, Prithvi Raj Road, New Delhi.

## NOTES

1. Butler Committee's Report quoted by R.L. Handa in "History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States", pp. 7-8.
2. Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir*, A Study in India-Pakistan Relationship, p. 23.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
5. B.L. Sharma, pp. 65-66.
6. Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir*, A Study in India-Pakistan Relations, p. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
8. Teng and Koul, "Ideological Foundations of the National Movement in Kashmir", *Journal of Political Studies*, D.A.V. College, Jullundur, Vol. IV, No. II.
9. P.N. Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 132.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
12. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 169.
13. Teng and Koul, "Ideological Foundations of the National Movement in Kashmir", *Journal of Political Studies*, Jullundur, Vol. IV, No. II.
14. Rasheed Taseer, *Tahreek-i-Hurriyat Kashmir*, p. 65.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
17. P.N. Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 138.
18. R.L. Handa, *Freedom Struggle in Princely States*, pp. 249-50.
19. P.N. Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, pp. 140-41.
20. The Eastern Times, Feb. 18, 1932, quoted by Mohammad Ishaq Khan in *History of Srinagar*, p. 173.
21. G.H. Aijaz, "Roots of the Kashmir Freedom Movement—I," in *Kashmir Today*, Feb.-March 1978.
22. *New Kashmir*, p. 6.
23. V.K. Krishna Menon, *Unity of India*, pp. 230-31.
24. Pir Afzal Makhdoomi, "Tahreek-i-Hurriyat", *Aina*, September 7, 1971.
25. Rasheed Taseer, *Tahreek-i-Hurriyat Kashmir*, p. 140.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
27. P.N. Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 149.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
29. Teng, Bhatt, Koul, *Kashmir*, Constitutional History and Documents, p. 79.
30. G.H. Aijaz, "Roots of the Kashmir Freedom Movement—I", in *Kashmir Today*, Feb.-March, 1978.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. P.N. Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 154

# 11

# *Quest for Responsible Government*

RAM KRISHEN KAUL

The three regions of Jammu, Kashmir and the Ladakh frontier that constitute the present state of Jammu and Kashmir, were for the first time united in a single political entity by Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu in 1846[1] after the disintegration of Sikh power. Gulab Singh's rule was despotic. He was the ultimate law-giver, and supreme head of the executive. All that the Maharaja willed was law and all that he prohibited was crime. In February 1856, the Maharaja relinquished his throne, crowned his son Ranbir Singh and moved down to Srinagar as the Governor of the Kashmir Province.[2] Ranbir Singh reorganised the administrative system and promulgated a penal code. But the administrative structure continued to be broadly based on the personal rule of the Maharaja.[3] Maharaja Ranbir Singh was replaced by his son Pratap Singh in 1885. In 1924 Maharaja Pratap Singh appointed an Executive Council of five members with himself as its President. The Council was entrusted with the administration of the State, Maharaja, retaining his inherent powers of Veto and Control.[4]

Pratap Singh was succeeded by his nephew Maharaja Hari Singh in 1925. With the assumption of the throne he initiated a vigorous policy of reform. A constitution was promulgated in March, 1927, under which civil administration was entrusted

to a council of six ministers. All the powers of the government were taken over by the Maharaja under his personal control.[5] The Ministers were appointed by the Maharaja for such term and on such conditions as were determined by him, and, as usual, they remained in office during his pleasure. The decisions of the council were only advisory and were subject to the approval by the Maharaja.[6] In March 1928, the Maharaja appointed a High Court of Judicature for the State.[7] The Chief Justice and the other Judges were to be appointed by the Maharaja, and were to held office during his pleasure.[8] But these reforms did not satisfy the people as they were not associated with the administration of the State.

Simultaneously the public opinion was gradually getting organised in the State and movements for greater economic opportunity, security, political liberty and social justice were gathering support. The crude despotism, disorder and corruption that characterised the reign of the early Dogras had sown many seeds of discontent, and resulted in State-wide unrest.

These were beginning to sprout in trouble. In spite of his best efforts the Maharaja could not stem the tide of this seething unrest. The year 1931 opened with regular agitation against the Dogras. The "All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference" as a Muslim Organisation which sought to uphold and protect the rights of Muslims in the State, played a leading role in the agitation.[9] Unfortunately, communal influences inspired by Muslim Communalism in Punjab worked their way into the agitation and it wasted itself on communal conflict.

The agitation, however, created a deep impression on the Maharaja. After a short span of repression, the Maharaja swung back to a mere rational and positive attitude. A Commission of Enquiry later called the "Glancy Commission" was appointed to investigate into the causes of the agitation (unrest) and examine the grievances of the people.[10] While the investigations of the Glancy Commission were in progress, a Constitutional Reforms Conference was convened by the Government to examine the issue of further constitutional reforms.[11] Already a Franchise Commission had been appointed to explore the possibilities of establishing legislative assembly and the grant of the right of franchise to the people.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Constitutional

Reforms Conference and the Franchise Commission, the Jammu & Kashmir Regulation No. 1 of 1934 was passed by the Maharaja. The Act provided for the establishment of an Assembly, to be called, the Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha. The Assembly was to consist of 75 members of whom 33 were to be elected.[12] Franchise carried high qualifications and only six per cent of the people became entitled to vote.[13] The Sabha was empowered to ask questions, introduce regulations and legislate on such matters only as were specified for its purview. Power to legislate with regard to the rest was reserved by the Maharaja for himself. The Sabha was also empowered to discuss the State budget but vested with no powers to spend any portion of the revenue.[14]

In the beginning of 1935 the leadership of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference which had now grown into the biggest political organisation in the State, was canvassing support for the broadening of the scope of the Conference. A large section of its leadership strongly advocated for the inclusion of non-Muslims in the Conference. Much of the resentment having died down, the futility of communal conflict had come to the surface now. Its sole field was the institution of a powerless assembly, though it had sown deep seeds of prejudice and distrust in the public mind. In 1938, in a convention held at Jammu the Conference adopted a resolution demanding "Responsible Government[15] and invited the non-Muslims of the State to join it".

Immediately after the decision on the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Muslim Conference, the Conference leadership gave a call for demonstrations in support of responsible government. State-wide demonstrations were held on 5th August, 1938. Speaking in a public rally in Srinagar Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:

> Our experience is that both the Muslims and the non-Muslims are equally in the iron-grip of the autocratic government in the State. Our war is not the war of religions to secure a few administrative jobs or get a few temples and mosques released from the control of the government or secure a few rights that will not end the disabilities we suffer from.[16]

On August 27, while the agitation was in progress, the leaders, among whom were Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Maulana Syeed Masoodi, Sardar Budh Singh, Pandit Kashyap Bandhu, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, Dr. S.N. Peshin, and Pt. Shyam Lal Saraf, drafted a joint memorandum on responsible government. The memorandum was called "National Demand". The next day Pandit Kashyap Bandhu, Sardar Budh Singh and Khwaja Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq were arrested. On August 29, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the other signatories to the "National Demand" were put under arrest. The arrests were followed by massive public demonstrations against the government. Flustered by the mass upheaval, the government came down upon the agitators with a heavy hand. The hatchet fell on the Kashmiri Pandits, most of whom were in the employment of the State. A secret circular was issued by the Government, warning the Pandits of severe action in case they or any of their relatives were found to have supported the agitation for self-government. The signatories to the National Demand and other leaders of the movement were tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The manifesto envisaged the demand that the Government in the State be re-organised to incorporate the principle of administrative responsibility, separate and qualified franchise be abolished and substituted by universal adult franchise, weightage be given to the minorities for the protection of their legitimate interests. The manifesto demanded that the people be ensured the basic rights of life, liberty and property, freedom of speech, expression, and association, and the right to legal remedies against any arbitrary action of the State.[17] The Manifesto read:

> Our cause is righteous and reasonable and just. We want to be the makers of our own destiny and we want to shape the ends of things according to our choice, of course, under the august patronage of His Highness. We are, therefore, of this firm belief that the Government of His Highness should, before long, be modelled on the following lines:
>
> (a) The present system of administration in the State shall be replaced by Responsible Government subject to the

general control and residuary powers of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur as hereinafter mentioned.

(b) The Ministry shall be responsible to the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature and shall have, subject to such responsibility, power to control the expenditure of the revenues of the State and also to make such grants and appropriation of any part of those revenues or of any other property at present under the control or disposal of the Council as reserved expenditure, save and except the following which shall remain under the control of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur:

1. Expenditure of the Military Services.
2. Payments of all debts and liabilities hitherto lawfully contracted and incurred by His Highness in council on account of Government of Kashmir.
3. Expenditure classed as political and foreign.
4. The Dharmarth Trust.

(c) The principle of responsibility to the Legislature shall be introduced in all the branches of administration of the Government subject to general control, reservations and residuary powers vested in His Highness in respect of control of Military, Foreign and Political Affairs, etc., provided that the proposal of His Highness for appropriations of any revenues or monies for Military or other expenditure for Foreign and Political Affairs purposes shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, but that His Highness shall have power not withstanding the vote of the Assembly to appropriate up to a fixed maximum any sum His Highness may consider necessary for such expenditure.

(d) The Legislature shall consist entirely of members elected by six Constituencies formed on the system of the adult franchise.

(e) The election to the Legislature shall be made on the basis of Joint-Electorates; seats shall be reserved for the minorities, and all other safeguards and weightages should be guaranteed to them in the constitution for the protection of their legitimate linguistic, religious, cultu-

ral, political and economic rights according to the principles enunciated, accepted or acted upon by the Indian National Congress from time to time.

(f) All the subjects of the State, without distinction of creed and caste, shall be admitted for services in all armies of defence and for that purpose His Highness shall be assisted by a Minister responsible to the Assembly.

(g) No subject of His Highness shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or of associations and free speech or in respect of writing except under sentence by an ordinary court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial.[18]

In March, 1939, the annual session of the Indian National Congress was held at Tripura. A delegation of the State leaders was especially invited by the Congress President to attend the session. Tripura brought the State leaders closer to the Congress. The Congress leaders acclaimed the struggle of the State's people for self-government and extended whole-hearted support to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his colleagues in their quest for freedom. In fact, the Congress strategy with regard to the political movements in the States was given the final shape at Tripura.

The State leaders clearly saw the identity of the goals they idealised and the ideals the Indian National Congress sought to achieve. The movement in the State represented the upsurge of the people of the State against the servitude the Indian Princedom symbolised and therefore was a part of the struggle of the Indian people against the British dominance. Shortly after the Tripura Congress, the Muslim Conference was formally converted into National Conference.[19] The President of the Conference was authorised to nominate members from the other communities to the Working Committee and the General Council of the Conference.[20]

In 1939, the Maharaja ordered repeal of the Constitution Act of 1934, and promulgated a new Constitutional Act for the government of the State.[21] The new constitutional provisions were designed to placate the rising temper of the people in the State and their incessant demand for self-government. The broad principles which the Constitution Act underlined did not differ substantially from the provisions of the Constitution Ac

of 1934, except that the law relating to the High Court was incorporated in the Act and the number of elected members in the Praja Sabha was increased to forty. The Maharaja retained the inherent powers of the prerogative. As a matter of fact, the new enactment did not envisage any devolution of authority, which in effect continued to be centralised in the hands of the Maharaja. The reserved subjects were, however, redefined.[22]

The Constitution Act provided for a legislative body constituted of the Maharaja and a chamber known as the Praja Sabha. The membership of the Sabha was fixed at seventy-five. Forty of the members were to be elected. The members of the Council of Ministers retained their ex-officio position in the Sabha which they held under the Constitution Act of 1934. The Maharaja reserved to himself the powers to appoint official members and members representing certain special constituencies. He also reserved the power to nominate two members to the Assembly for having special knowledge and experience of the subject-matter of a Bill pending before the Sabha for the period the Bill remained under consideration of the Sabha.[23]

The tenure of the Praja Sabha was fixed at three years, subject to the condition that the Maharaja could dissolve the Praja Sabha earlier or extend its term in special circumstances. The Maharaja reserved the right to fix the date, not later than six months after the expiry of the Praja Sabha or of its dissolution, for its next session.

The Maharaja also reserved the right to summon the Praja Sabha and prorogue it. Communications from the Maharaja to Praja Sabha could be made by him in person or by messages sent through the Prime Minister or any other Minister and by messages sent through the President of the Praja Sabha. Communications from the Praja Sabha to the Maharaja could be made by a formal address, preferred through the President of the Sabha after a resolution was moved to the effect and passed by the Praja Sabha.[24]

The Maharaja reserved to himself the power to appoint the President of the Sabha, remove from his office, and fix the term of his office. Powers were vested with the Praja Sabha to choose from among its members the Deputy President of the Sabha. The Deputy President was liable to be removed from his office by a resolution of the Sabha passed by a majority of its mem-

bers. The Maharaja also reserved to himself the power to appoint Under Secretaries, from among the members of the Sabha. The Under Secretaries were to be attached to one or more ministers and assigned such duties which related to the business of the Sabha.[25]

The Praja Sabha was empowered to legislate for the entire State and for the subjects not reserved for the Maharaja. The Sabha was, however, not empowered to undertake any legislation that affected the religious rights, usages, endowments or special law of any community without the previous sanction of the Maharaja and no such measure could be deemed to have been passed by the Sabha unless two-thirds of the members of the Sabha from the community affected were present in the Sabha and voted in favour of the measure.

The Sabha was subject to a number of severe limitations. They were:[26]

(i) The Sabha could not deal with and consider any matter which was included in the reserved subjects.
(ii) In case the Prime Minister of the State certified that the introduction of a Bill, discussion on it or an amendment moved to it or a resolution passed on it, was likely to affect the safety or the tranquillity of the State, he could direct stoppage of proceedings on the Bill.
(iii) Where the Praja Sabha refused leave to introduce a Bill or failed to pass it in the form recommended by the Council, the Maharaja reserved the power to declare the provisions of the Bill essential for the good government and tranquillity of the State.
(iv) The Praja Sabha was precluded from repealing or altering any ordinance promulgated by the Maharaja.

With regard to finances, the provisions of the Act vested the Sabha with powers wider than those vested in it under the Constitution Act of 1934.

On March 21, 1940 the Muslim League at its annual session in Lahore, adopted the resolution for the division of India and creation of a separate independent state for the Muslims in India. The League resolution had a deep impact on the political movement in the State. A number of Muslim leaders, mostly

from Jammu had disassociated themselves from the National Conference. The Parliamentary Party of the National Conference in the Praja Sabha also broke up.

In June 1941, the Working Committee of the National Conference instructed the members of the Conference Parliamentary Party to resign from the Sabha.[27] The following reasons were listed by the Working Committee for the action it recommended:

(i) the modifications introduced by the Government in the Rules of Procedure of the Praja Sabha which gave arbitrary powers to the Prime Minister;
(ii) the introduction of the Dev-Nagri script or the two script medium in the schools; and
(iii) the special concessions provided to the Rajputs and Hindus by the provisions of the Arms Act.

In the last week of July, the members of the National Conference Parliamentary Party in the Sabha submitted their resignation. The resignation of the leader of the party, Mian Ahmad Yar, was accepted forthwith. Resignations submitted by the other members were however refused on the ground that fresh elections could not be held due to the situation created by the outbreak of the war.

In July 1943, the Maharaja appointed a high power enquiry commission to review the working of the Constitution of the State.[28] Rai Bahadur Ganga Nath, the Chief Justice of the State High Court and the President of the Praja Sabha, was appointed Chairman of the Commission. The Commission was asked to make recommendations to secure 'safety, integrity and security of the State' and an efficient and progressive character of its administration. It was also asked to recommend measures with regard to:

(i) the development of the economic resources of the State and its people leading to a higher and healthier standard of life;
(ii) the increasing representation of the State subjects in the administrative services of the Government;
(iii) the adoption of ways and means to check corruption;

(iv) the uplift of the rural areas; and
(v) the economic rehabilitation of the frontier districts of Ladakh and Gilgit.

The Commission invited all political parties in the State to send their representatives for participation in the deliberations of the Commission. The National Conference was also asked to send its representatives.

In August, the Working Committee of the National Conference considered the invitation of the Government to participate in the deliberations of the Commission. The Committee expressed dissatisfaction with the terms of reference of the Commission, pointing out that these covered an unnecessary wide area of investigation and did not include any specific directives for political and economic reform. The Committee concluded that the Conference sought to achieve responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja and, since the terms of reference of the Commission did not envisage consideration of any such measure, the appointment of the Commission was not a satisfactory solution of the constitutional problem of the State. The Committee, however, decided to cooperate with the Commission and send its representatives to participate in its work.

The deliberations of the Commission were protected and irregular as a result of which much of the enthusiasm with which the Commission had started, died down. The National Conference recalled its representative. Those very days the Conference evolved a programme of reform and reconstruction for the State and submitted it to the Commission for its consideration. The Commission, however, found itself unable to accept any of the suggestions envisaged in the programme.

In February 1944, the programme which the National Conference has submitted to the Ganga Nath Commission, was adopted by it as its Manifesto.

The programme was named 'Naya Kashmir' and published.[29] In his presidential address to the annual session of the Conference Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said:

> The Working Committee of the National Conference which always has its hand on the pulse of the people, feels that at this time when political and economic systems are in the

melting pot and ideas of a new World Order are being debated, it too must formulate more correctly its own conception of the New Kashmir it strives to build.

The National Conference envisages the future of New Kashmir in both political and economic terms. Towards that end we have drawn up a scheme which politically is based on the democratic principle of responsible government, with the elective principle of applied from the Local Panchayat right upto the National Assembly. This is linked with the independence of judiciary and the ultimate responsibility of the Executive to the people. In the economic sphere, we have gone on the principle that planned economy is the essence of progress, and without it there can be no raising of the standards of the masses of the State.

The 'Naya Kashmir' plan envisaged a scheme of Constitutional reforms for the State, a bill of rights and a frame of representative political institutions besides a national economic plan and a plan for cultural and educational development.

The plan pledged to secure the people of the State right to equality, right to self-determination, emancipation from oppression, poverty, ignorance and superstition, and to ensure them participation in the historic resurgence of the peoples of the east and the working masses of the world.

The Plan embodied a structure of government for the State based on the principle of executive responsibility. The functions envisaged for the Ruler were those of a constitutional head. The Plan proposed the institution of a political executive constituted of a Council of Ministers which would be headed by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister and the other members of the Council would be appointed by the Ruler, while administrative powers of the State would be exercised by the Council.

The Plan further proposed the institution of a National Assembly elected by the people of the State giving one representative to every forty thousand people in the State. The Deputies in the Assembly would be selected on the basis of universal direct franchise and secret ballot.

The Plan envisaged an independent judiciary in the State constituted of a High Court with people's Courts at the District and the Tehsil levels. The Judges of the High Court would be

elected by the National Assembly for a period of five years and the Judges of the people's courts would be appointed by the High Court for a five-year term. The people's courts would be elected by the people's Panchayats for a term of five years. The High Court would be charged with the power to supervise and direct judicial functions of other organs of the government.

It took the Conference some time to realise that the dyarchy was organised puppetry and the two representatives of the Praja Sabha were posted in the ministerial column of the Maharaja to serve him, rather than carry out the mandate of the Sabha or implement the policy plans the Conference idealised. The dyarchy did not only operate to contain the Conference Representative in the Council, but scandalised his position in the Sabha.

Mirza Afzal Beg offered to resign, and requested to be relieved of his office immediately.[30] On 19th of March, his resignation was accepted.[31]

As the Conference representative withdrew the Government struck back. Shortly after, Beg was relieved of his office, the Government secretly offered the ministerial office to Mian Ahmad Yar, the leader of the National Conference party in the Sabha. The appointment of Ahmad Yar was a debacle for the Conference. Desperate and angry, the Conference leaders charged Pandit Ram Chandra Kak of conspiracy to push out Mirza Afzal Beg from the Government and break up the Conference. Stormy protests and demonstrations against the Government were organised all over the State. Appeals were made to Ahmad Yar urging him to give up his office and when he did not, he was asked to resign from the Praja Sabha for having lost the confidence of his electors. Finally, he was expelled from the Conference.[32]

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who had been to Delhi, to attend the meeting of the Standing Committee of the States and People's Conference, and also to discuss with the Congress leaders the issues arising out of the Cabinet Mission, returned to Srinagar on 3rd May, 1946.[33] Three days after, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah lashed out at the Government of the State and accused it of having conspired to scuttle the dyarchy and undermine the movement for self-rule in the State. He called upon the people to prepare for the last phase of their

struggle against the Dogras.[34]

The speech marked the beginning of the famous "Quit Kashmir" movement.

On 20th May, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was arrested while he was on his way to Delhi. Within a day the entire leadership of the Conference was interned. Thereafter, a wild manhunt for the other ranks of the Conference was put into operation. Troops were deployed all over the major towns of the State to maintain peace and order. At many places they had to open fire to disperse angry demonstrators.

The "Quit Kashmir" agitation and the consequent confrontation between the State Government and the National Conference cadres had many political implications. At the critical time when the future of India was on the anvil, the political upheaval in the State and the bid of the State Government to liquidate the National Conference, the only stabilising factor in the State politics, was bound to effect, the delicate balance of forces, the Congress, made efforts to maintain in the States.[35] In fact, the Muslim League quickly seized the opportunity. It attacked the National Conference and secretly assured the State Government of its support against the Conference.[36] On June 2, the States People's Conference, Regional Organisations, Regional Councils, Praja Mandals, Lok Parishads and the State Congress Branches all over the country, organised protest meetings in support of the people of Kashmir.[37] The President of the States People's Conference, Pandit Nehru, gave a call to collect funds and raise volunteers for Kashmir. Later the General Council of the States People's Conference passed a resolution expressing solidarity with the people of Kashmir in their struggle for freedom and authorising the President of the Conference to take such steps as he would consider necessary to deal with the situation in Kashmir.[38] On June 13, Nehru issued a statement in which he expressed his resolve to bring about a peaceful settlement of the trouble in Kashmir. The next day Nehru informed the Maharaja telegraphically that he had decided to come to Srinagar to help in ending the complicated situation in the State.[39] The Maharaja spurned the offer Nehru had made, and in reply told him that his visit would further complicate the issues and therefore, it would not be advisable for him to come to Srinagar.[40] Nehru sent another

telegraphic message to the Maharaja asking him to reconsider the decision he had taken.[41] Hari Singh refused to yield.[42] On June 16, Nehru wrote him a long letter in which he expressed his anxiety at the happenings in the State. He pleaded for a peaceful settlement of the problems facing the State.

The letter was delivered to the Maharaja on the morning of 19th May. The same day Nehru reached Kohalla, a border outpost on the Rawalpindi-Srinagar road. However, before Nehru could cross into the State borders the District Magistrate of Srinagar handed over to him an order prohibiting him from entering the State.

Barricades were thrown up across the road and a platform of Dogra troops with mounted bayonets lined behind. Bewildered and outraged, Nehru broke through the barricades and the cordon of the troops.[43] Late in the night, he was put under arrest at Domel, a wayside station on the road to Srinagar, thirty miles inside the border. The news of Nehru's arrest spread like wildfire. Wavell put himself in touch with the Maharaja. The next day, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad instructed Nehru to return to Delhi. He sent a telegram to the Maharaja urging him to postpone the trial of Abdullah so that Pandit Nehru could return to Delhi where his presence was urgently needed.[44] Hari Singh sent him the following reply:[45]

> There is nothing to prevent Nehru from returning wherever he wishes to return. There was never any intention of detaining him here, if he wanted to return.

Subsequently Nehru returned to Delhi.

Inside the State, the Conference leaders were tried for sedition and treason and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Slowly the movement was smoothered down. For conspiracy to overthrow the Government, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was sentenced to imprisonment for nine years.

In August the State Government decided to hold elections to the Praja Sabha. The National Conference, which was still reeling under the severe blow it had received after the "Quit Kashmir" agitation, joined in the Contest.[46] A Central Parliamentary Board was constituted by the Conference to conduct

its election campaign. On its part, the Government continued to build pressure on the Conference and undermine its position. Most of the Conference cadres were arrested and imprisoned. In villages and towns, the local Election Committees of the Conference were broken up and their members jailed.[47]

As the elections to the Praja Sabha drew near, the Government moved surreptitiously in to undermine the National Conference. On November 17, the Central Election Board of the Conference was broken up and its members taken into custody. On November 20, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Acting President of the Conference, issued a statement in Lahore which called upon the Government to put an end to its repressive policies and allow the conditions in the State to normalise in view of the forthcoming elections to the Praja Sabha. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad underlined three conditions which were necessary for the settlement of the political crisis in the State. They were:

(i) immediate release of all political detenus and prisoners;
(ii) institution of a Constituent Assembly in the State to frame a new constitution; and
(iii) recognition of safeguards for the cultural, religious and linguistic interests of the minorities in the State.[48]

The State Government was in no need to stabilise its relations with the National Conference. Rather it intensified its activities against the Conference. In the last week of November the Government issued a notification which fixed January 4, 1947 for elections to the Sabha. The nomination papers were scrutinised on 19th December. Most of these which were filled by the National Conference were rejected on one pretext or another. Eight nomination papers had been filed by members of the National Conference against Mian Ahmad Yar. All the eight were declared invalid and Ahmad Yar was returned unopposed to the Sabha.[49] The same day Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad denounced the action of the government and announced the decision of Conference to boycott the elections. Just after some time, in 1947, the British decided to quit India. Along with the other Princely States, Jammu and Kashmir was also released from operation of the British paramountcy.

## NOTES

1. Treaty of Amritsar was concluded between Gulab Singh and British Government on 16th March, 1846.
2. Bamzai, P.N.K., *A History of Kashmir*, p. 666.
3. *Studies of Kashmir Council of Research*, Vol. II, p. 37.
4. *Kashmir Government Records* file No. 239, Block C of 1924.
5. Order No. 3, dated 11 March, 1927.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Jammu and Kashmir Government Notification order No. 1*, 26 March, 1928.
8. *Ibid.*, Sec. i.
9. *Report of Srinagar-Riot Committee.*
10. On 12th Nov., 1931 Maharaja Hari Singh appointed Sir B. J. Glancy of the Foreign and Political Dept. of the Government of India as the Chairman of the Commission scheduled to go into the grievances of the people.
11. *Report of Kashmir Constitutional Reforms Conference, 1932*, p. 2.
12. Regulation No. 1, Ss. 14 and 17.
13. Election Regulation No. XIV of 1933, J & K Praja Sabha Election Rules.
14. A Note on the administration of J & K State, 1934.
15. Presidential Address of Muslim Conference, Jammu Session, 1938.
16. *Ibid.*, 14th August, 1938.
17. Manifesto of National Demand.
18. *Ibid.*
19. The Report of the Sub-Committee of the Muslim Conference Working Committee appointed on 27th April, 1939.
20. Resolution of the Muslim Conference passed in its special session on 11th June, 1939.
21. Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act, 1939.
22. *Ibid.*, Sec. 24.
23. *Ibid.*, Sec. 14.
24. *Ibid.*, Ss. 16 and 17.
25. *Ibid.*, Ss. 19 and 22.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Rasheed Taseer, *Tahreek Huriyat Kashmir*, Vol. 2, p. 80.
28. *Command of Maharaja Hari Singh*, dated 12 July, 1943, published in Government Gazettee, dated 15 July, 1943.
29. Resolution of the Working Committee of the National Conference, dated 20 February, 1944.
30. Mirza Afzal Beg to Ram Chandra Kak, dated 17th March, 1946.
31. Pandit Ram Chandra Kak to Mirza Afzal Beg, dated 19th March, 1946.
32. *Khidmat* (Srinagar), 19-21 April, 1938.
33. *Khidmat* (Srinagar), 21 April, 1946.
34. *Ibid.*, 8 May, 1946.

35. *Statesman* (Delhi), 23 May, 1946.
36. *Ibid.*, 12 June, 1946.
37. *Ibid.*, 27 May, 1946 (Speech of J. L. Nehru).
38. Resolution of the All States People's Conference.
39. *Nehru to Hari Singh*, dated 14th June, 1946.
40. *Hari Singh to Nehru*, dated 16th June, 1946.
41. *Nehru to Hari Singh*, dated 17th June, 1946.
42. *Hari Singh to Nehru*, Telegram dated 17th June, 1946.
43. *The Tribune* (Ambala), 21 May, 1946.
44. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to Hari Singh*, dated 21 June, 1946.
45. *Hari Singh to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, dated 21 June, 1946.
46. *Khidmat* (Srinagar), 3 August, 1946.
47. *Khidmat* (Srinagar), 20 August, 1946.
48. *Khidmat* Srinagar), 20 November, 1947.
49. *Khidmot* (Srinagar), 24 December, 1947.

# 12

# *Quit India Movement: A Framework*

P.N. JALALI

The Quit Kashmir struggle of 1946-47 marked a historic turning point in the freedom movement of the people of Jammu and Kashmir ; a striking manifestation of their heroic exploits for freedom from the twin strangle-hold of feudalism and colonialism.

It also marked the culmination of a 15-year long organised struggle, whose successful outcome was determined by the interrelation of forces operating both nationally and on the world scale. The timing of the struggle, coming as it did, when the entire country was poised for a final struggle against the British was no less significant.

In this brief write-up, it is not possible to catch the broad sweep of the movement and portray the day to day happenings of the struggle that shook Jammu and Kashmir about 32 years ago. The scope of this paper is, therefore, confined to appraising some of the significant aspects of the movement, whose object was to overthrow the autocratic regime in the State.

One of the contentions of those opposed to the movement was that it was an intrigue by some malcontents who were loosing ground in the state and had taken an desperate step to rehabilitate themselves among the people. Some others hold

that it was a mere episode in the long drawn struggle without any relationship with the general known objectives of the movement, that was to share over under the aegies of the Maharaja.

That the Quit Kashmir movement was no episode or a sudden outburst in the course of an otherwise orderly movement is proved by the very outcome of the struggle that finally ended in installing a popular regime in Jammu and Kashmir.

The success of this movement which faced the fierce onslaught of the Hindu-Muslim communalism and the autocracy, was assured, primarily, by the people's willingness to sacrifice, and also because it was able to evoke powerful response of the people of India, the clearly saw the reflection of their own freedom aspiration in it.

To Hindu reactionaries, who falsely propagated that the mass of Muslims could not be roused to great heights of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, the Quit Kashmir struggle was as much an anathema as it was to the Muslim communalists. The movement and its tortuous course provided the people of Kashmir with an anvil on which they tested the strength of their foes and friends, and also with a historic opportunity to concretely appraise the true worth of gratituous advice tendered to them in the name of religion.

More important, it would be difficult to understand the so-called Kashmir problem in its multifarious dimensions, unless one went deep into the causes of the Quit Kashmir movement burst out at the most significant stage of the Indian freedom movement against the British colonial rule, when Imperialism and its henchmen were preparing new plans and in the process trying to tackle each segment of the freedom movement, through compromise and pressure, with a view to safeguard their global interests in the changed post-war situation.

The States peoples' movement, particularly that of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, therefore, assumed a pivotal role in defeating the designs of the British colonialism. The Quit Kashmir movement was a logical response of a vibrant and wide-awake people to these intrigues of the British.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the movement and its final victory had profound impact on the course of events that finally led to the withdrawal of the British power from the sub-continent. Above all it brought to the forefront the

question of princely states, the fate of whose people was sought to be sealed by the British and their princely hirelings, through a series of conspiracies being hatched at their back.

The movement also demonstrated the powerful potential of the States Peoples' movement, as the second important bastion of the people's fight against the foreign colonial rule. It also created objective conditions under which the people of the State were left with no other choice, but to cast their lot with rest of the people of India, when they faced the crucial choice of accession in 1947-48. The Maharaja's choice in favour of India, after fruitless procrastination, and under the overwhelming pressure also dealt the first decisive blow to scheme whose object was to turn Jammu and Kashmir into a buffer from where to operate against the freedom of the sub-continent.

The anti-fascist war ended, bringing about a sharp tilt in world balance of forces in favour of peoples seeking the end of colonialism and the imperialism. A specific feature of the post-war situation was the upsurge in the colonial world, which was getting disintegrated under the powerful impact of the anti-colonial movements.

The British, having come to realise that it was no longer possible to hold their grip over India, had begun preparing new plans for perpetuating their hold over the country, in the event of their withdrawal from the sub-continent became necessary.

Jammu and Kashmir, whose borders touched Soviet Union, China and Afghanistan, had always figured as an area of strategic importance in the British global plans. In the emerging situation, the developments taking place in the States in the final phase of shaky British Crown, acquired special significance.

The genesis of the idea of the type of movement that was Quit Kashmir has to be traced to the days when the Cripps Mission visited India. As the members of the Mission began their discussions, the question of the future of the 400 and odd princely States surfaced as an issue first rate importance. This happened because the British succeeded in creating the impression that the transfer of power was round the corner, if only the Indian leaders were able to overcome their differences which appeared to be irreconcilable. The main issue on which the nation remained divided was what was known as Hindu-Muslim question, on which the two premier political organisations,

the Congress and the Muslim League took diametrically opposite positions. Sharp differences also existed between the two organisations on the question of the future of the princely states. While the Congress generally supported the struggle of the State's people against the princely order, the Muslim League which agitated for Muslim separatism, unashamedly backed the princes and their right to decide the future of their States. (W.C. Resolution, dated April 2, 1942).

The Congress, however, took a different stand. The Party, while endorsing the demand of the State's people for self-rule, remained ambiguous, whether princely order should quit or find a place in a free India. Only Jawaharlal Nehru, the most far-sighted among the Indian leaders, took a forthright stand, which was not wholly acceptable to his more conservative colleagues in the Congress organisation.

It goes to the credit of Jawaharlal Nehru that as early as in 1939, he denounced the treaty rights of the princes as a "monstrous imposition" and declared that the Congress recognised no such treaties. The only paramount power that the Congress recognised, he said, was the will of the people, and the only that counted ultimately was the good of the people. (W. C. Resolution, dated April 2, 1942).

It is well to remember that out of 600 and odd princely states, only 40 had such treaties. The relations of the remaining states with the British paramount power were regulated by engagements, *sanads*, usage, sufference, political practices and conventions. Jammu and Kashmir was among the 40 States, which was bound to the paramount power through the infamous treaty of Amritsar.

With the arrival of Cripps Mission, the Princes began to agitate for their treaty rights, as a basic right which gave them unfettered power to perpetuate their dark rule over their people. The object behind their outcry was to exclude the accredited representatives of the State's people from the crucial talks for the country's freedom, and thereby carve out the princely India into a separate entity, constitutionally and politically, with the purpose of balkanisation of India. To the princes, the treaties and engagements, which bound them to their "beloved king Emperor", were the "sheet anchor" of their relationship with the British Crown.

The Princely India, which accounted for one-fourth of India's population then, was a special preserve of British Imperialism, a vast prison house in which elementary human rights were absent. Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir and Travancore Cochin, were the princely states, where the people's fight against autocracy had reached an advanced stage, and thereby become part and parcel of the country's militant struggle against British Imperialism and their feudal lackeys in the States, the Princes and the Maharajas.

At the time of discussions with the members of the Cripps Mission, the issue of princes versus their people, got concertised in terms of who enjoyed the right to represent the princely states, in the future constitution making body of India. By dint of their Treaty rights, the Princes arrogated this right to themselves, and ignored the right of their people to elect their own representatives without the interference of the princes. The princely order considered their subjects as mere commodities at their disposal, as the Congress Working Committee put it, and thus negated the concept of democracy and the self-determination. Such states as may not give the right of electing their representatives to their people the Congress Working Committee rightly observed in its resolution dated April 2, 1942, might become "enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and, where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the States as well as of the rest of India".

As against the Congress, the Muslim League adopted an attitude of servility towards the Princes. The Working Committee of the Party in its resolution dated April 2, 1942 said that it was its "considered opinion" that it was a matter for the princes to "decide whether to join or form a Union", thus buttressing the position of princes *vis a vis* their people and indirectly helping them to achieve their design of a separate enclave.

The princely India's design to carve out a separate buffer of their own was laid bare Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, as the accredited spokesman of the Chamber of Princes, on June 1, 1942, wrote to Sir Craik pledging the Indian Princes' full faith in Britain's respect for the treaties and the bonafides of the His

Majesty's Government and His Excellence the Crown Representative.

Referring to the draft declaration formulated by the Cripps' Mission, envisaging revision of treaty arrangements, he recalled the obligations of the British towards the princes and the relationship that bound the two with each other. Stressing that the rulers of the States alone represented their Government the Jam made the significant assertation that "it seems, authoritatively indicated that once a State adheres to the proposed Indian Union, it will have to remain there, even if the union should declare itself a republic, or decrees that monarchial rule in the states should be replaced by a republic".

While agreeing with the suggestion that the single union would undoubtedly be the best solution of India's constitutional problem, the Jam let out the cat out of the bag when he said that "at the same time it may be that unforeseen circumstances may compel a large number of States or groups of States not to adhere to the Indian Union". Accordingly, the States' delegation asked Sir Stafford Cripps that in that contingency the "non-adhering States should be accorded the option of having a union of their own with full sovereign status in accordance with a suitable and agreed procedure devised for the purpose".

In his reply, the Crown representative indicated to the Jam, what latter had left unsaid in his petition. He told the Chancellor of Princes Chamber that he had not mentioned the "obvious remedy" that in joining the Indian Union, the States should be allowed to reserve the right to secede from it, if at any time the Union were to decide to leave the British Commonwealth.

The plea for secession from the Union, as made by the Jam in his communication to the Crown representative was further elucidated and made more explicit in a document, dated September 4, 1942, by the Secretary of State for India.

The document which was meant to be an exercise for drafting a reply to the Chancellor of Chamber of Princes, among other things spoke of the "right of non-adhering States like non-adhering British provinces to form a separate union of their own; that by joining an Indian Union, they might involve themselves in secession from the Empire; that between now and the next Indian constitutional discussion, the princes may certainly consider the outline of a scheme for a separate

union, if they wish. They might also consider what terms they might wish to demand of an Indian Union before they join it, for example the right to secede from the Union, if the Union secedes from the Empire" (documents). From the foregoing, it would be clear that the British were using the Princes as pawns in the game for retaining India as a dominion within the Commonwealth to prevent the new nation from attaining full statehood as a republic with complete independence, and also envisaging formation of a princely buffer, with the right to secede from the union, as a cancerous outgrowth in the body politic of free India.

Sensing the Imperialist plot, the National Conference from the very inception, made its position clear on the future set up of India, especially on the crucial question, whether the Princes were justified in claiming the right to speak on behalf of their people, on the basis of moth eaten treaties.

About the time the Cripps' Mission came to India, the party after taking into consideration the reality of political alignments in the State, and basing itself on the actual consciousness of the people, wisely evolved a course of action that gave it considerable freedom to maintain its independent identity, and while uniting with the Congress, also maintain close liaison with other progressive movements in the country, especially those of workers and peasants led by the leftist elements including the communists.

In a parallel move, the party also announced its total opposition to the treaty rights of the princes as valid documents, entitling them to speak on behalf of their people. In a memorandum submitted to the British Cabinet Mission, which followed the Cripps Mission, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, on behalf of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, wrote that the national demand of the people of the State was "not merely the establishment of a system of responsible Government, but their right to absolute freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra house".

Challenging the right of the Maharaja to speak on behalf of the people on the basis of treaty of Amritsar, the Sheikh said, "we challenge the moral and political validity of this sale deed, to which the people of Kashmir were never a party, and which has since 1846 been the document of their bondage".

He further said that the "future of the inhabitants of India is

on the anvil, and the constitutional pattern of the future is being hammered out by the British Cabinet Mission. The question of Treaty rights of the princes has become a moot point between the peoples of the States, the princely order and the paramount power. For us in Kashmir, the re-examination of this relationship in its historical context is a vital matter", the Sheikh declared.

Having thus thrown the gauntlet at the British and their princely hirelings, the National Conference, as the most advanced segment of the State Peoples' movement, proceeded to enrich its popular base and fortify it with the new ideological perspectives to face the challenge of fast changing times.

On July 12, 1943, the Maharaja of Kashmir announced the appointment of a Commission with the object of ascertaining the popular demands on the need for reforms in the administration. The National Conference, which associated itself with the working of the Commission, sent two of its leading members, late Chief Minister, Mr. G.M. Sadiq and Mirza Afzal Beg, to represent the party on the Commission, after expressing its reservations about its usefulness.

The Maharaja's initiative, even though half-hearted, provided the National Conference with a welcome opportunity to outline its attitude towards the future socio-economic set-up of the State. The result was the formulation of the "Naya Kashmir" programme, which was presented to the annual session of the party held at Srinagar on September 30, 1944. The presentation of the radical programme envisaging the establishment of socialist form of society in the State, electrified the session and the delegates attending the session, who gave it their unanimous approval and pledged to make sacrifices for its implementation.

The adoption of the "Naya Kashmir" programme by the party, marked a turning point in the chequered history of the National Conference. Underlining its historic significance, Sheikh Abdullah said that its adoption meant a "direct assault on feudalism, usury, capitalism and imperialism, who are the real forces with which the National Conference is in confrontation". (From the address to the Sopore session held on 3, 4 and 5 August, 1945).

A month after the conclusion of the party's annual session at

Srinagar, the Maharaja came out with another declaration regarding the association of two popular ministers with the Government. Mirza Afzal Beg and Mian Ahmed Yar Khan, who were chosen to represent as National Conference nominees, as the two popular Ministers, were given minor portfolios, and their functioning made difficult through inter-ministerial manoeuvres and arbitrary functioning of the then Prime Minister, Mr. R.C. Kak. Popularly known as diarchy, the experiment failed and yield any fruitful results to justify the policy of reform and gradual change through compromise with the autocracy, without bringing about basic changes in its fundamental character.

Assessing the plus and minus of the experiment, the leader of the National Conference, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah told the annual session of the party at Sopore that the real solution of the ills of the State lay in having a popularly elected Legislative Assembly on the basis of adult franchise and the formation of a ministry, which would undertake the task of State's development. Addressing the delegates attending the historic session, he said that the party's objective should be to exhaust all the constitutional means to achieve its goal, "but if these methods failed to bring the party nearer its goal, then we should be ready to embark on a course of active struggle and make sacrifices".

The experiences gained during the period of diarchy by the National Conference gave the dominant section of the National Conference leadership a big jolt and exposed the deep designs of the autocracy, which planned to undermine the party's influence and make its nominees prisoners in a bigger game of leaving the people of the State defenceless in facing the combined onslaught of the autocracy and the British few months later.

In fact the conspiracy to dislodge the National Conference from the minds of the people had begun during the period of diarchy itself, when the Government, on the one hand pretended that it had yielded to the popular demand of associating National Conference nominees with the Government, and on the other hand struck at the roots of the party by resorting to arbitrary methods to suppress the popular movement.

In the correspondence exchanged between Mr. Beg and the

Prime Minister Mr. Kak, the former exposed the farcical character of the diarchic experiment, when he wrote to the Prime Minister that "restrictive ordinances hitting the basic civil liberties of the people" had been promulgated without his knowledge. The measures aimed at suppressing the people's liberties were adopted even in the constituency of Mr. Beg, who knew nothing about them. Under the circumstances, it was, therefore, ridiculous for the two popular ministers to stay in the Government without harming the cause of the people.

After the National Conference Working Committee reviewed the experiment of the diarchy, and found it a retrograde step, Mirza Afzal Beg stepped down from the ministership. But Mr. Kak struck back using a Machiavellian tactic of persuading Mian Ahmed Yar to defect, and lure him to the camp of autocracy.

Reacting sharply to the betrayal of faith by Mian Ahmed Yar, the Sheikh said, the end of experiment of the diarchy has not only put an axe on the elective system of appointing popular ministers, but has made the Maharaja a "party to the conspiracy against the popular movement in Kashmir".

In his statement on the ministerial crisis on April 22, 1946, the Sheikh added that such an attack on rights of the people, and the unity of their representative organisation, has come at a time when the minds of the people of Kashmir are already exploring the new perspective opened up by the attempts at Constitution making of the Cabinet Mission. In his statement, the Sheikh also made a reference to the "feudal-master governing the serfs" mentality betrayed by the Maharaja, and declared that this state of affairs cannot be allowed to last. The resurgent spirit of the people, he said, challenges it in the name of human dignity.

While the failure of the diarchic experiment opened the leadership of the National Conference, and made them realise the futility of pursuing a path of compromise with the autocracy, other developments that took place between 1944 and 1946, were no less significant. One was the visit of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, whom the National Conference received in the hope of enlisting his support for the demand of freedom of state's people. The National Conference wanted Mr. Jinnah not to take a partisan attitude on the state people's demand for

deliverance from the rule of autocracy in favour of the prince and those opposed to the party, who happened to be the very people, who represented the retrograde interests and backward looking sections of the state's population.

On the issue of two-nation theory, based on religious affiliations of the people, the National Conference had taken a principled stand at its historic Sopore session and called for formation of states in the Indian federal structure, based on community of language, territorial contiguity, and psychological make-up, in exercise of their right of self-determination. The resolution adopted at the session to this effect, made it clear that right of self-determination by the nationalities in the sub-continent has to be exercised, not in opposition to the freedom movement of the country, or in isolation from it, but in a way as to strengthen it in its fight for liberation from foreign colonial rule.

But Mr. Jinnah, whose party had all along backed the cause of princes, failed to assess the freedom urge of the Kashmir people, majority of whom were muslims, and constituted one of the most oppressed Nationalities in the country. The National Conference drew appropriate conclusions from the attitude of hostility evinced by the Muslim League leader, whose policies underwent a quick change from initial neutrality to open hostility between his arrival in Srinagar and the time he departed from the State.

Thus on the eve of crucial negotiations for the transfer of power the British in 1945 and 1946, the people of Kashmir and its accredited leadership had gone through what might be called a "nirvana" understood that the fruitless venture, and had of compromise with the autocracy, was disillusioned with the claim that religious affiliations could be determining factor is seeking foes and friends of the movement, and finally come face to face with the stern reality that there was no escape from undertaking a relentless and militant struggle to end the centuries old autocracy.

It was this realisation and this education received through series of failures and triumphs, that people of the State and the National Conference leadership found itself in the receptive mood to undertake the onerous responsibility of launching the final battle for power, which burst in the shape of "Quit

Kashmir" movement.

As already pointed out in the foregoing paragraphs of this paper, the situation on the transfer of-power-eve was full of many perils, and as the final stage of negotiations between the British and Indian leaders arrived, the British plans for India were in staring in the face of those concerned with the future of this country and its freedom. The broad outline of these nefarious designs had surfaced in limelight in the course of negotiations, first with the Cripps' Mission and second with the Cabinet Mission. To sum up the substance of these plans, one could group them in the following order: First to carve out a princely order on the basis of their treaty rights and to condemn the people of the States to a state of perpetual slavery thus balkanise the country; Second in the event of failure of his move, to utilise the treaty rights of princes to bargain with the Union of India to secure for the princes rights to lord over their people and prevent the Union of India from leaving the Commonwealth and retain it as a Dominion without attaining the full republican statehood. The last and inevitable alternative, the British finally placed before the people of India was the partition of the country on religious grounds, and to leave the princes to make best of the both the dominions, by bargaining from a position of strength, with the paramount power backing their treaty rights and representative capacity. All the three alternatives placed before the people of India on the eve of freedom were in accord with the global designs of Imperialism, who looked at Jammu and Kashmir, as a strategic border state, which could be used to as a perpetual hunting ground to keep the two countries after the partition perpetually at loggerhead to weaken both of them and thus lessen their impact on world developments.

It has not be thus clear on the eve of the Quit Kashmir movement, the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the National Conference were faced with the crucial choice; either to succumb before the Imperialist plans, or face the challenge boldly and prepare to launch the final battle against the British and their princely hirelings.

It chose the latter path and initiated a massive drive to educate and rouse the people to face the might of autocracy and the British Paramount Power. One who has lived through those

glorious days of re-awakening of the ordinary Kashmir, would recall with pride the massive outcry and indignation against the Amritsar Treaty. The sordid sale deed, under which the British sold and Gulab Singh purchased the people of Jammu and Kashmir lock stock and barrel. For weeks preceding the launching of the movement, there was hardly a day when thousands would not parade the streets, ordinary Kashmiris, craftsmen, factory workers, small shop-keepers, big and small, old and young swearing vengeance against the autocracy and demanding freedom and the scrapping of the infamous sale deed, which was a national humiliation of a hoary people, who had given the world civilisation many a giants in the field of culture and its ordinary workmen, something unique to the world of handicrafts. The whole Valley was resounding with the cries of "Bainama Amritsar tod do—Kashmir chord do", and the poet Iqbal's anguished protest "Qomay furoktand chi arzan furoktand" became the Bible recited by every Kashmiri tongue. The story of the oppression of Kashmiris is a long one, first under the cruel reigns of Pathans, followed by Sikhs and finally the Dogra Raj buttressed by the British, and yet the people of the Valley retained their noble instincts and passionate urge for freedom and democracy, and rose to great heights of heroism, when the occasion demanded.

In those days of campaigning against the Amritsar Treaty, we calculated that each Kashmiri was sold one hundred years for a pittance of six paisa, and handed over to princely hireling of the British in bonded slavery without even a murmur of protest from anywhere in the world.

The first salvo against the infamous Treaties of the Princes with the British Paramount Power was fired by the National Conference Working Committee at its meeting in Srinagar on January 17, 1946, when it met to discuss the Viceroy's statement, saying that the constitutional progress in the States was conditional on the maintenance of these treaties and the consent of the Princes.

Debunking the contention of the Viceroy as untenable, the Committee made it clear that the treaties had been made in times and under circumstances which do not obtain now and had been framed without seeking the consent of states people "under such circumstances no treaties or engagements which

act as dividing wall between their progress and that of their brethren in British India can be binding on the people", it declared.

The declaration was followed by building up a massive campaign and preparation for the ensuing struggle, till the sudden arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah at Garhi, while the Kashmir leader was on his way to Delhi to meet Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in response to latter's request.

Before his arrest, the Sheikh in his speech at Maisuma, where Mahatma Budh Singh and Kashyap Bandhu also spoke, had served notice on the autocracy and told his people that "the tyranny of the Dogras has lacerated out souls. The Kashmiris are the most handsome people, yet the most wretched looking. It is time for action. To end your poverty, you must fight slavery and enter the field of *Jehad* as soldiers. The fighting slogan of our struggle is not only for our State, but for the whole of India. India is fighting against Imperialism. The slogan was given on the banks of Ravi. Then came the slogan of "Quit India". The British gained the hold of India by force of arms and by treachery.

"The rulers of Indian States who possess one-fourth of India, have always played traitors to the cause of Indian freedom. The demand that princely order should quit is a logical extension of the policy of Quit India. Then the Indian freedom movement demands complete independence and the complete withdrawal of the British power, logically enough, the stooges of the British Imperialism also should go and restore sovereignty to its real owners—the people. When we raise the slogan of "Quit Kashmir" we naturally visualise that the Princes and Nawabs should quit all the States. I am sure this demand applies similarly to a State like Hyderabad where the people will, I am sure, raise their voice "Quit Hyderabad".

"Handcuffs jingles", he declared, and "they do not make us afraid". With this clarion call from their leader, the people of Kashmir braced themselves to face the ordeal of the coming battle.

Speaking of the Quit Kashmir movement, one cannot resist the temptation of writing about the heroism of ordinary working men and women, who rose to great heights of valour, and made sacrifices, which form a bright chapter of our freedom struggle,

but the scope of this article prevents from doing so. I, therefore, confine myself to describing some essentials, which would help illustrate both the strength as well as the shortcomings of the movement.

The people of Kashmir constitute, one of the most oppressed nationalities of India. Ground down by centuries of feudal bondage and serfdom, they eked out an existence on a low output economy with small commodity production dominating over all sectors of life. The peasantry and the handicraftsmen formed the overwhelming composition of the population. Under such conditions, it was natural for the freedom movement in the State to easily achieve a character of spontaneity, with less emphasis on organisation for a unstained battle.

A alaring weakness of the movement led by the National Conference was the lack of a separate peasant movement assisting it as an organised sector of the overwhelming section of the population in its fight against the autocracy. The party was dominated by the trading and educated middle class with strong links with the small landlords and the traders. It, however, draw its strength from the mass of the oppressed peasantry and the handicraftsmen whose minds were heavily influenced by poorer sections of *mullas* and *piru*. The working class in the urban areas formed a significant section of the population, but was solidly behind the movement. The hard core of Muslim middle class, aligned with big mullas and feudal elements, and the Hindu middle class in general, was either neutral and uncommitted towards or was opposed to it.

The weaknesses of such a social set up and the alignments emerging from it, also got reflected in the movements that were led by the National Conference.

An account of the actual course of the Quit Kashmir movement has to be viewed in this background and understood in its phase-by-phase advance. The first phase which began with the arrest of the Sheikh on May 20, 1946, was the open defiance of the armed might of the State, prolonged hartals and strikes in factories, and clashes between the police, army and the demonstrators. With the second phase, the movement shifted to struggles within the prison walls, where hundreds of political prisoners living in inhuman conditions resorted to repeated hunger strikes. The third stage. was the legal battle, heralded

by the Sheikh's historic trial for sedition, which in turn turned into a trial of autocracy itself at the bar of the people. The fourth and final phase of the struggle started with the exposure of the farce of elections, the partial lifting of the restrictions on the leaders of the movement and the negotiations which led to the release of the "dictators" or the Satyagrahis and the return of the leaders who were working outside the State for the success of the struggle.

While the preparations for the struggle were on, it became apparent that the dominant section of the National Conference had not understood or properly assessed the strength of the enemy and the preparations that the autocracy was making to annihilate the movement. These preparations had begun during the period of diarchy itself and extended over the entire period till the arrest of the Sheikh, under the guidance of the British Officers, Brig. Scott and Inspector General of Police, Powell, who personally handled the command of the repressive machine that was put into operation by the ace British Agent, Mr. R.C. Kak, who had been long installed as the Prime Minister of the State.

Expecting that mere pressure and threats would force the Maharaja to bow before the will of the people, the National Conference leaders failed to make sufficient organisational preparations to face the violence unleashed by the autocrat, soon after the arrest of the Sheikh on May 20.

Efforts by the leftist elements in the organisation especially the Communists, who were in the forefront of the movement and later joined the struggle *en masse*, to build a stable organisational framework for a sustained struggle were not fully appreciated. Only the traditional War Council was constituted, with Kh. Ghulam Mohiuddin Kara as its Chief, and that too half-heartedly.

The leaders of the National Conference also underestimated the seriousness of the challenge that the awakened people of the strategic border state of Jammu and Kashmir hurled at the British at the time when they were preparing for a retreat in the face of rising militant movements in the country, such as RIN revolt and the INA movement, as also battles in the princely states, especially in Hyderabad and Punapur and Vayalar struggles in Travancore Cochin.

When the D-Day came, the autocracy struck with a lightening speed which initially stunned the leaders of the National Conference. The complacency was so deep that they were not even prepared to listen to the report that the Sheikh had been arrested. The scale of preparation for the confrontation made by the two sides can be better judged by the statement, the Sheikh and Mr. R.C. Kak made and were reported in the newspapers on June 30 and 31 the same year. The Sheikh was asked about the preparations made and the programme he had outlined for the struggle, he replied that it was all wrong to say that the National Conference had planned for a rebellion. The planning was yet to begin, and he had not asked for the destruction of the bridges, but had only given a call for 15,000 volunteers who would be ready to do or die at his command. (*Statesman*, 30-5-1946).

But contrary to the Sheikh, the Prime Minister, Mr. R.C. Kak, was brutally frank and forthright, asked for his side of preparations, he told the reporters that "we have been preparing for it for 11 months", that is from the period of diarchy itself. He told the newsmen that "there will be no more vacillation and no weekend policy. We shall be ruthlessly firm and we make no apology". (*Leader*, 31-5-1946).

Mr. Kak's diabolical thrust against the people was no empty boast. The State Government's armed drive against the popular movement came within minutes of the Sheikh's arrest, when the troops laden with heavy arms and armoured vehicles moved into different parts of the Valley, especially into Srinagar under the pretext of facing an insurrection. In a war like fashion, an operational headquarters under Richard Powell was set up at the old widow's palace, which now houses the Government College for Women. The operations throughout the State, especially in the Valley were being personally supervised by the Chief of the Military Staff, General H.L. Scott. A strict censor was imposed on the press, followed by 15-day curfew enforced in Srinagar. Steel helmeted military pickets were posted all over the city, and strong armoured guards placed at all the bridges, post offices and other places.

A massive house to house drive for searches was begun and the rank and file leaders arrested. To strike terror among the people, an official announcement was made that anybody defying the police or the army or trying to address a public meeting

would be shot at sight and fines imposed on him. To humiliate the people and make them feel the heavy weight of the armed might of the autocracy, anybody passing through an armed picket or coming across an armed picket or passing a bridge was asked to crawl on his knees, and forced to shout "Maharaja Bahadur ki jai".

The battle order was so framed as to divide the city of Srinagar into 26 sectors, each under the supervision of a Special Magistrate, with powers to order shooting, issue warrants of arrests and for searches.

Panicked at this initial show of might by the Government, and draconian orders for shoot at sight, many National Conference rank and file leaders panicked and quietly reported at the police stations for arrest and eventual detention in the prison. For the first two or three days, which were crucial for building the morale of the people, even the War Council, was absent from the scene and unable to give timely guidance to the people.

But the situation turned towards better, as the people recovered from the initial shock and rallied to the call of the War Council for resistance against the repression. The first initiative in retrieving the situation was taken by the students, especially the communist hard core among them, who undaunted went round the city in batches disguised as red cross workers and mobilised the people to drive out the army and police pickets from their mohallas. There were clashes and in one such clash, the army opened fire grievously injuring one student, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, the son of veteran freedom fighter, Mr. Umar Bhat. The student leaders acting quickly established a network of organisation, whose links extended even to the palace of the Maharaja. Some arms were also secured, but the idea of armed encounters was given up for lack of preparation and absence of a subjective matter for such a form of struggle.

Unable to establish contact with the Underground War Council, the students group, on its own chalked out a programme of satyagraha in defiance of the shoot at sight order.

Those selected for satyagraha on the Friday, following the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was Mr. Bashir Durrani, now an official of the LIC, Mr. Kirmani, presently the S.P. Police, Srinagar, Mr. M.L. Misri and myself. The place chosen for offering the satyagraha was Hazratbal shrine, which has

always served as a sanctuary for the freedom fighters in difficult times. With its sister shrine, Khanqah-i-Molla, which became the prime centre of resistance and a place of Satyagraha, Hazratbal shrine has offered the services of a number of its custodians to the freedom struggle, among them Mr. Nooruddin Bandey, who along with his two sons spent long terms of jail during the Quit Kashmir struggle. (Mr. Kirmani is the younger son of Mr. Nooruddin Bandey).

Recalling the Friday of Satyagraha, I distinctly remember the doubts that were plaguing our minds. Having reached the shrine after slipping out of the military dragnet and the police hunt for national conference workers, we reached the shrine with other devotees. Our first misconception was removed, when on making our way quietly to the stone pulpit of the shrine, we saw a vast concourse of common people awaiting to listen to us. Dressed in the white symbolic of the ready to die shroud, we sat huddled on the pulpit guarded by scores of men and women. The enclosures were lined by heavily armed soldiers with their guns pointed in our direction. Here was a moment of decision with tension writ large on the faces of the audience. I was the first to speak and as I got up and started raising slogans, there were incoherent replies from the gathered audience, many of whom were expecting the army to open fire and resort to killing. As each one of us had ended addressing the crowd, the army suddenly filed up wanting to arrest us. But within a twinkling of an eye, a big crowd of women from the assembled audience rushed to the spot placing themselves between us and the two lines of the army to save us from falling in the clutches of the armed men. From then onwards, it was a forest of hands who lifted us bodily and we found ourselves in waiting shikaras on the banks of Dal lake and row us to hiding.

I have detailed this account of our Satyagraha not with the object of that ours was a conspicuous act of defiance in those dark days of terror, but only to illustrate how deep was the commitment of the ordinary men and women to the slogan of "Quit Kashmir", and to show how firm was their resolve to sacrifice and face the might of the State.

A day before we offered the Satyagraha, the situation had radically changed in favour of the freedom fighters. With most of the rank and file leaders having been arrested, the people

were at a loss to understand as to how to face the Government. But within the next two or three days the sporadic resistance, which the government hoped would collapse, burst like a lava and on the third day of the struggle itself, there were widespread clashes all over the Valley leading to firing and martyrdom of several persons. The newpapers quoting the official press note on the day described the situation thus: "Sheikh Abdullah's followers assembled at several places in defiance of the order, damaging the bridges and cutting down telegraph and electric wires, thus cutting off a number of police stations and chowkis from the headquarters. Four persons engaged in damaging communications, are reported to have been killed as a result of firing by the pickets detailed to safeguard communications. A mob at Pampore attacked the police post in attempt to rescue the arrested persons. Fire was opened on the mob and attack was repulsed. Two persons are reported to have been killed and one injured on the occasion." In Srinagar city, the situation worsened and the military opened fire at five places at all. Inquiries made in official circles reveal that few persons were killed and some others injured.

The ruthlessness of the Kak regime, far from frightening the people into submission, further stoked the fires of revolt. And as the War Council took the command of the movement, the resistance took an original and organised shape, registering its deep impact beyond the environs of the State. And as the stories of heroism of ordinary Kashmiris reached the ears of the people outside the State, a massive movement of solidarity burst out throughout the length and breadth of the country, with congressmen and communists exerting their utmost to come to the aid of their Kashmiri brethren. The Kashmir Committee consisting of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Mr. G.M. Sadiq, and Pandit Shyam Lal Kaul, became the pivotal link between the struggling people of Kashmir and their brethren in the rest of the country.

The climax of the solidarity movement with the fighting Kashmiris was reached, when Jawaharlal Nehru entered the State on June 20, breaking off important negotiations with the Viceroy. Defying the ban on his entry, the President-Elect of the Indian National Congress, and the Prime Minister designate of free India, forced his entry despite the show of bayonets.

Having crossed into the State, he was arrested and brought to Domel and later allowed to go to Srinagar, where his presence electrified the atmosphere and boosted the morale of the people. The news of Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest shook the entire nation from one corner to the other, and the people everywhere burst out in anger and indignation against the brutal repression in Kashmir. Fearing the repercussions of his arrest, the Congress leaders persuaded Nehru to return to Delhi for consultations.

Jawaharlal's solidarity visit was followed by the tour of Mahatma Gandhi to the State, and that of Acharya Kriplani, who belonged to the conservative wing of the Congress leadership, which was unhappy with the launching of Quit Kashmir movement. His queer behaviour in Kashmir became the subject of criticism and he had to return without being of any benefit to the people of the State.

The visit of the national leaders to Kashmir resulted in turning the trial against Sheikh Abdullah into a trial by a rebel against the State, when Mr. Asaf Ali assisted by a team of lawyers, including the late Jia Lal Kilam, turned the tables on the prosecution. The footnote to the trial was written, when the court failed to establish its case against the Sheikh, christened by his people as 'Baghi Abdullah', and yet shamefully convicted and sentenced him to three years' simple imprisonment with fine of Rs. 500 on each score, after a long trial held in the safety of Badami Bagh Cantonment.

The scope of this article does not permit me to deal with the political alignments that emerged inside the state and outside around the Quit Kashmir struggle. To the communal minded Hindus, principally the Yuvak Sabha led by Mr. Sheo Narayan Fotedar, it was a great shock to learn that a large number of influential Kashmiri Pandit intellectuals had had actively taken part in the movement, and thus debunked the canard spread by the Government that Quit Kashmir struggle was a Muslim movement directed against the Hindu Maharaja. But more interesting and significant was the line up of the big landlords, Zaildars, and the so-called Kisan Mazdoor party and the Socialist Party of Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, which fanatically opposed the fighting people of Kashmir with the autocracy.

Another revealing aspect of these alignments was the support that the Maharaja's Government drew from the Muslim Con-

ference, especially its Chief, Mirwaiz Maulvi Yusuf Shah, who from the very beginning kept aloof from the movement, and cleverly helped the administration by defaming the movement and by running down the freedom fighters. The Muslim Press in the country under the influence of Muslim League ran a campaign against the movement, taking its cue from Mr. Jinnah, who did not hesitate to enter into a standstill agreement with the Maharaja's Government.

The support of the Muslim separatists, the Hindu communalists, and the pseudo-socialists and the so-called votaries of the cause of the Kisan and Mazdoor to the Government and their endorsement of ruthless methods of repression, only exposed these elements as nothing but the agents of the autocracy and its Imperialistic master. Their ineffectiveness as worthy instruments of black reaction was proved when the State Government tried to stage another farce of elections to re-establish its bonafides with the people outside the State.

Having failed in its attempt to stamp out the spirit of resistance among the people, the Kak Government announced its decision to hold elections to the State Praja Sabha in order to prove to the outside world that the people of Kashmir did not whole-heartedly back the democratic demand of the National Conference. Having enlisted the support of Jagirdars, Zaildars and his camp followers, in the Kisan and Mazdoor and the Socialist Party outfit, Dr. Kak floated a party known as People's Conference to ensure bogus return in the elections, and thus show conclusively that the common man in Kashmir preferred the rule of the gang of Kak-Scot and Powell to that of the freedom fighters. With the leaders of the National Conference and the rank and file workers of the party, the Prime Minister had calculated on an easy victory in the elections, expecting the National Conference to keep out of the poll. But to his great disappointment, the farce of his elections got exposed when the National Conference, despite the heavy odds in its way, announced that it would take part in the poll. But no sooner then the party made its announcement and constituted an election committee to organise the poll campaign, the Government's plans got unmasked and the election farce exposed. The Election Committee was arrested, the printed election propaganda confiscated, nominees of the party arrested

and the official machinery viciously used in favour of the candidates backed by the Government. Eventually the National Conference boycotted the elections, which was so complete that in an influential constituency like Habba Kadal the winning candidate got elected by a margin of 150 votes, which was incidentally the total number of votes polled in the constituency. The boycott proved to the world that the policy of terror and repression had not wiped out the National Conference from the minds of the people of the State. On the contrary, it had only further eroded the hold of the Government and those who stood on its side.

The success of the policy of boycott of the elections dealt another severe blow to the tottering regime of Maharaja, whose crisis deepened, with the installation of the popular Government in New Delhi. The crisis and the erosion of Government authority forced the Maharaja to retreat in the face of mounting internal and outside pressure on his Government, while the Quit Kashmir struggle went on unabated.

The shift in the policy came, when Maharaja was forced to ask Mr. Kak to step down from the office. This was a blow to imperialists, who had used Mr. Kak to stamp out the National Conference, as the only impediment in their path of turning Kashmir into a strategic bridgehead. Mr. Kak's absence from the helm of affairs also forced a change in the tactics of British Imperialism, which from that day onwards initiated preparations in Pakistan to muster the support of armed tribals for intervention into Kashmir, and thus to complete the task, which had been left undone by Mr. Kak.

But in the meanwhile, the ouster of Mr. Kak led to relaxation in the campaign of repression by the Government, and later to negotiations and eventually to general amnesty as a prelude to compromise with the leaders of the popular movement. While the negotiations were leading to a point of culmination the Imperialists struck through the armed tribals from Pakistan in the face of which the regime of autocracy collapsed, thus exposing its hollowness and impotence. The vacuum thus created at this dangerous hour was filled by the people's upsurge which stood firmly against the armed onslaught and thus fulfilled the task assigned to the National Conference by the freedom loving people of Jammu and Kashmir. The popular

upsurge against the tribals was the finest hour of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the culminating point reached by the Quit Kashmir movement, which succeeded in frustrating the plans and designs of Imperialism and its princely hirelings against the freedom and peace in the sub-continent.

# 13

# *Last Phase of Freedom Struggle of Jammu and Kashmir : The Historical Trials*

M. AMIN PANDIT

The historical trials of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah ; Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, Budh Singh and others in 1946 on charges of sedition and rebellion against the State can very well be termed as the last phase of the freedom struggle of Kashmir.

These trials were historical because they changed the course of events of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. These were termed as the trials of "The Rebels" because the then rulers thought they constituted the State, and anything said against them or their rule was sedition. For them the demands put forth by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his public speeches in different parts of Srinagar city and its suburbs on 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th, and 16th May, 1946 and on many other places as well in which he addressed the assembled gatherings of people constituted sedition under Section 124(A) of Ranbir Penal Code. (Same as that of Indian Penal Code).

By the "State" was meant Maharaja Bahadur His Highness Sir Hari Singh, Inder Mahinder Sipr-i-Sultanat-i-Inglishia-Walliay-Riyasat-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir-wa-Ladakh-wa-Aksai Tibet-wa-Illaqa Haie-Poonch-wa-Chenani-wa-Muftuh Illaqajat including Hunza, Nagar, Punicl etc. The scene of the trial was the huge hall in first floor of a big building in Badami Bagh Cantonment

(now housing a Military Hospital) and the Presiding Officer of the court was Lala Barkat Rai, B.A., LL.B. Wazir Surup Chand, Superintendent of Police had filed the complaint in the court and Pandit Madsudhan Kak and other Public Prosecutors appeared on behalf of the State. Mr. Asaf Ali, Bar-at-Law, Shri Govind Sahai, Bar-at-Law, Shri Avnish Nadan, Bar-at-Law, and Pandit Jia Lal Kilam, Mr. Abdul Latif and Mr. Raghunath Koul and others appeared on behalf of the accused. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also appeared once as defence lawyer. The accused in this case was none else than the hero of 1931, namely Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah son of Sheikh Mohammad Ibrahim, resident of Sawoora, Srinagar.[1]

The criminal case No. 1 (A) of 2003 Bikrami Samvat was not based on any criminal act in which the accused Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had, in his person, indulged but it represented the voicing of seething discontent and ferment of the people of the Princely States of India, ruled by autocratic and often feudal Rajas and Nawabs under the suzerainty of the British Empire.

The trial of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was something much more than the trial of an individual. It was the typified trial of a whole people. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had become symbolic of the people of Kashmir. Kashmir on its part had become symbolic of the Indian India and the innermost urges of the hundred million oppressed people of these States, who were thirsting for freedom from the heartless despotism of the Princes.

The last of the series of public speeches delivered by Sheikh Abdullah had been brought to book was at Maisuma, Amira Kadal in Srinagar city on May 16, 1946. In his speech Sheikh Abdullah said:

> "The political map of the world is undergoing immense change. In present-day world, when peasants and labourers are emerging as an organised sector and their hearts are filled with an urge of freedom, there appears to be no scope for Maharajas and Nawabs. There should be no doubt about it that sovereignty belongs to the people. I want to warn the British, the Indian National Congress and Mr. Jinnah that as a result of any conspiracy, the poor, oppressed hundred million people of Indian States are denied their

right to freedom, I shall raise my banner of revolt. I want to state that in such case the freedom of India would be incomplete. The British shall not be in peace if the States people's right is not acceded to. Not long ago, when Mahatma Gandhi was jailed by the British Impreialism for his raising the slogan of "Quit Kashmir" we have given the call for freedom or Death."[2]

It was not without reason that the people of other States looked with sympathy towards the people of Kashmir and there was a feeling of solidarity between them. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was not only the President of National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir. He was later voted to the Presidentship of All India States People's Conference (an allied body of Indian National Congress) in its Govalier Session, 1947.

The rulers of many Indian States, no doubt, sympathised with and encouraged the Kashmir authorities in the acts of suppression and oppression. These Rulers felt that their own interests were tied up to some extent with the fate of this struggle in Kashmir. Abdullah's trial had therefore become an internationally watched event.

Delivering the judgement in the case Lala Barkat Rai, Sessions Judge, Kashmir announced:

"Offences under section 124 (A) R. P. C. for all the three speeches are proved against him. He is convicted under the above section on all the three counts and sentenced to three years simple imprisonment with fine of rupees five hundred on each score. In default of payment of fine he shall further undergo simple imprisonment for three months on each count. The sentences of imprisonment shall run concurrently."

The judgement was announced on 10th September, 1946. A fortnight later, on 24th September, 1946 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote an introduction to the publication containing statement made by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in the Sessions Court of Lala Barkat Rai. Nehru wrote:

"Perhaps it would be more correct to say that, the ulti-

mate analysis, it was the trial before the bar of public opinion of the State authorities who had tried to stem the flowing river of the great movement.

It is extraordinary how those in authority became blind to the lessons of history; now they cannot even understand current happenings. Just when we find that India is on the verge of independence we find the Kashmir authorities, totally oblivious of this fact, seeking to crush their own people and their desire for freedom. A real people's movement can never be crushed when India herself is putting an end to foreign rule.

Because of all these factors, recent events in Kashmir have assumed an all-India importance and the trial of Sheikh Abdullah has a particular significance. I am glad that a record of this trial is being published, for this will bring many new facts before the public and help them to understand what has been happening in Kashmir and what happens or may happen in many other States in India.

The story of this brave struggle against the armed forces of the State has not ended by this trial. That story will go on till it reached the logical end which can only be the establishment of freedom in Kashmir within the large framework of a free and independent India. Meanwhile Sheikh Abdullah and many of his colleagues lie in prison and to them we send our comradely greetings."[3]

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his statement before the court of Sessions Judge, Srinagar pleaded not guilty to the charge of "Sedition," which according to Jurists is a crime against society. He however added that he stood by whatever he had said or written in regard to the fundamental rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The two concluding paragraphs of Sheikh Abdullah's statement made on 3rd August, 1946, are of historical importance. He said:

"It is a small matter whether I am imprisoned and tried and convincted. But it is no small matter that the people of Jammu and Kashmir suffer poverty, humiliation and degradation. It has been no small matter what they have endured

during the violent repression and horror of the past two months and more and what they are enduring now, these very events have demonstrated the justice of our demand of our cry "Quit Kashmir". For a system of government that can subsist only by pursuing such methods stand condemned. If my imprisonment and that of my colleagues' serves the cause to which we have dedicated ourselves, then it will be well with us and we shall take pride in thus serving our people and the land of our forefathers.

Kashmir is dear to us because of its beauty and its past traditions which are common to all who inhabit this land. But it is the future that calls to us and for which we labour, a future that will be the common heritage of all, and in which we as free men and women, linked organically with the rest of India, will build New Kashmir of our dreams. Then only shall we be worthy of the land we dwell in."[4]

Earlier, during the trial, the Chief Defence Counsel Mr. Asaf Ali (who was member of the Congress Working Committee and later held various posts, such as Member, Interim Government at the Centre in New Delhi, Indian Ambassador to U.S.A. at Washington, and Governor of Orissa) had told the Court:

"The accused's voice may be stifled behind prison walls, but it will continue to echo and ring for all times to come; it can never be suppressed, it can never be stopped. It is the voice of the human conscience; it is the voice of the people. Sheikh Abdullah is only a symbol of the people's undeniable aspirations and rights. What he is saying now will be repeated time and again, and it will go down in history. Therefore, I maintain that if this is held to be a criminal utterance it will be a grave infringement of the rights of the people and what is known is constitutional law as 'Inherent Sanction' or the people's will."[5]

During this historical trial, great national leaders visited the State to express their sympathy and support with the people and their urges as expressed and symbolised by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. These leaders include Acharya J.B. Kriplani (then General Secretary of the Indian National Congress), Shri Jaya

Prakash Narayan, Khan Samad Khan Acchakzai of Baluchistan, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan (known generally as Badshah Khan).

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who had almost been tipped as the Prime Minister-designate of India, despite advice by some of his colleagues including the then President of Congress Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, rushed towards Kashmir, but before he could enter the Valley, he was arrested by the then Governor, Maharaj Kishan Dhar. Pandit Nehru disregarded the orders of arrest and proceeded towards Srinagar, for which a case against Jawaharlal on charges of assaulting a Police Sub-Inspector was instituted in a court of law at Srinagar. Among old records found in the Office of Governor of Jammu (now redesignated as Divisional Commissioner) is a telegram from the Nawab of Bhopal addressed to Maharaja Hari Singh which congratulated him for the arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru. The telegram reads:

"WELL DONE TIGER"

Tiger, evidently was the pet name of Hari Singh by which name his Prince-friends would address him.

Panditji donned the lawyer's gown and made a symbolic appearance in the court of Sessions Judge at Badami Bagh, but Nehru's democratic appeal and Asaf Ali's legalist talent availed little in the Dogra Court. Though separate, but allied to Abdullah Trial in 1946, two more cases of sedition were instituted about the same time. One of these cases was against Sardar Budh Singh who had similarly been charged for his speech at Maisuma, Amirakadal on 16th May, 1946, the same meeting which was addressed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Sardar Budh Singh had later addressed a Sikh Dewan at Gurudwara Chatti Padshahi, Srinagar on 19th May, 1946. He was sentenced to one and half years' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rupees ten in default of which he had to undergo further imprisonment for one month. This was done under Rule 32 of Jammu and Kashmir Defence Rules by Mulk Raj, Sub Judge, Special Magistrate on 13th Phagan, 2003(B).

In another case against (1) Moulana Mohammed Saeed Masoodi, son-of Moulvi Ahmad Shah, (2) Ghulam Mohammad, son of Jamal Bhat, resident of Drugjan Srinagar,

and (3) Hakim Qasim Ali, resident of Babapora, the accused were sentenced under sections 28 and 32 of Jammu & Kashmir Defence Rule to one year's simple imprisonment and fine of two hundred rupees in default whereof they had to undergo further three months' imprisonment. This judgement was delivered by Indu Bhushan, City Munsiff, Magistrate Class I on 30th Asuj, 2003 Bikrami.

An attempt had been made to portray the "Quit Kashmir" movement as an attempt by Muslims of Kashmir to oust the Hindu Maharaja belonging to Jammu. This was refuted by the top ranking leaders of National Conference. In his statement before the court, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah stated :

> "The demand for the abrogation of the Amritsar Treaty was, in effect, disposed of by this clear decision of the Cabinet delegation. The future constitutional set-up in the State of Jammu and Kashmir cannot derive authority from the old source of relationship which was expiring and was bound to end soon, that set-up could only rest on the active will of the people of the State, conferring on the Head of the State and authority drawn from the true and abiding source of sovereignty, that is the people. The "Quit Kashmir" cry symbolised and gave concrete shape to this demand for the determination of a system of government which was in process of dissolution all over India. That cry had nothing personal about it."

Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, the then General Secretary of National Conference, in his statement before the court said:

> "India is passing through a crucial period of its history in which the British Imperialism has agreed to withdraw after ruling over the fortunes of this country for about 250 years. Towards this end negotiations are on with the Congress and the League for formation of an Interim National Government and Constitution of a Constituent Assembly. There is no wall now in front of the achievement of independence by the thirty-one crores of people living in two-thirds of

India which was ruled direct by the British. But the question of granting independence to the remaining one-third called Indian India, populated by about 9 crores and thirty lakh people is in a state of critical suspense. When the British want to withdraw from this portion of Indian territory, the Rajas and Nawabs come forward, with a claim on sovereignty, while the State's people want it to be transferred to them. Sovereignty never belonged to the 585 Indian Princes. Neither was it with the people of Indian States. It, in fact, vested with a third party. Now that the third party has withdrawn, a clash between the Princes and their people is a logical outcome of the situation. This is the reason why Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah prepared a Memorandum for the Cabinet Mission known as "Quit Kashmir" demand... ."[6]

In his statement Sardar Budh Singh gave historical references to show that the treaty of Amritsar signed on 16th March, 1846 was not only a sale-deed executed under most shadowy and degrading conditions between the East India Company and Raja Gulab Singh who had betrayed his Sikh Masters of Lahore Court, but that the sale-money i.e. cash of Rs. 75 lakh of Nanak Shaho Rupees had never changed hands at all.

Sardar Budh Singh further said:

"The interests of independence of India demand that all efforts be diverted towards freeing of people of Indian States and to put them on road to progress shoulder to shoulder with their other Indian brethren. The slogan of "Quit Kashmir" is only part of this endeavour whom do we address when we raise this slogan ? It is apparently addressed to the Dogra Raj which has its basis and foundations laid on the treaty of Amritsar. But our real address is the main spring-force of this Raj viz. "The British imperialism".

Today, when British Imperialism has been defeated in Delhi and is finding a sanctuary in Indian States, it becomes our sacred duty to administer a warning to it and to tell it quit the States. This is the real meaning of "Quit Kashmir". "Quit Kashmir" is, in fact, essential part of "Quit India" slogan."[7]

Sardar Budh Singhji was as very correct and prophetic too.

When British Raj was to come to an end at Delhi there was no occasion why its factotum at the Princely states would not roll up and vacate.

## NOTES

1. *State Vs. The Rebel.*
   Narrative of the Historical Trial, printed at Kashmir Mercantile Press and published by Maulana Mohammad Saeed, General Secretary, J & K National Conference, Sept. 1946, p. 3.
2. *Kashmir—Kahan Se Kahan.*
   Compiled by Ghulam Mohiuddin Hamadani, President District National Conference, Srinagar, printed at Broca's press, Sept. 1949, p. 30.
3. See F.N. 1 above, pp. 1-2.
4. See F.N. 1 above, pp. 14-15.
5. See F.N. 1 above, pp. 15-16.
6. *Aradie-i-Kashmir Ka Nara.*
   Statement made by Maulana Mohd. Saeed Masoodi in the court of Mr. Indu Bhushan Magistrate, Srinagar on 14th Oct., 1946 printed at Geelani Electric Press, Hospital Road, Lahore by Mr. Shyam Lal Kaul, with a Foreword by G.M. Sadiq, pp. 53-54.
7. *Jagir Shahi Ka Post Mortem.*
   Statement made by Sardar Budh Singh before Lala Mulk Raj, B.A, LL.B., Special Magistrate, Srinagar on 10th February, 1947 (28th Magh, 2003 Bikrami) holding its sittings at Central Jail, Srinagar. Printed at New Kashmir Press, the Bund, Srinagar with a Foreword by Maulana Mohd. Saeed Masoodi, p. 82.

# 14

# *Contribution of Jammu People in the Freedom Struggle of Jammu and Kashmir*

SARDAR MOHINDER SINGH

The story of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir will remain incomplete, if the part played by some of elder statesmen and public men belonging to Jammu province remains untold.

The first stir among the educated and patriotic elements was discernible in early twenties of the 20th century. Notable names worth mentioning are those of Lala Hans Raj, Ram Chand Dubey, General Samunder Khan, Munshi Asad Ullah, Advocate, Allah Rakha Sagar, Ch. Chatter Singh and L. Mulk Raj Saraf. It was through their concerted efforts that the Dogra Sabha came into existence. A platform was thus provided during the regime of Maharaja Pratap Singh for State subjects to air their grievances at a time when there was no liberty of speech or press or of forming association inside the State.

Between 1925 and 1930 late S. Budh Singh (better known as Tyagi Budh Singh who held a prestigeous job of a Deputy Commissioner in 1925) resigned to devote his life for the uplift of the poor oppressed down-trodden people of rural areas irrespective of their religion, caste or region. He had the honour of being elected thrice to preside over the deliberations of the All Jammu and Kashmir Dogra Sabha on its three Annual Sessions. From this platform Budh Singh delivered

addresses of political content replete with references of the freedom movement launched by Gokhale, Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi in British India and demanded emancipation of the people of the State from Begar and all such black laws which were responsible for the grinding poverty and their exploitation. Budh Singh used the platform of Dogra Sabha for political purposes despite the then Maharaja's orders that Dogra Sabha shall not indulge in any political activity. The same Budh Singh was fearless and courageous enough, that even while in service, he addressed two public meetings in Hazuri Bagh at Srinagar as early as 1922 where he raised his voice of protest against the forcible labour employed by the Government agency without payment, to carry the camp equipment of the then British Resident to Pahalgam, where he had gone for an hunting expedition. This was the first voice ever raised publicly against the despotic rule for which Budh Singh was prepared to face the consequences even if he were asked to quit his service. He roused the Kashmiris against the slavery and preached the use of Swadeshi and boycott of all foreign goods. This incident had a serious repercussions in the placid calm of the Valley as it was for the first time that the waves of freedom struggle raging outside in the British India, had crossed into the frontiers of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Soon after educated youth like Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, G.M. Gilkar and others appeared on the scene. Moved by the plight of Kashmiris, they organised Muslims to fight for their rights. The 1931 episode when on July 13, the police resorted to firing on a gathering outside the Central Jail, gave birth to an organised party of Muslims as Muslim Conference. However, the demands of this party and its programme had the seeds of a nationalist movement.

Shri Jia Lal Kilam, Kashyap Bandhu and Shri Sham Lal Saraf, who had by then formed a party of Hindus in Kashmir known as Sanatan Dharam Yuvak Sabha supported the nationalist demands of Muslim Conference sponsored and organised by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Raja Mohd. Akbar Khan of Mirpur was another stalwart of the freedom struggle from Jammu province. He was a resident of Chabhal Gakhar, a village situated at a distance of 8 miles from Mirpur town. He came from a Rajput family of peasants and joined Army after receiv-

ing school education. As an Indian sepoy he refused to use his arms against Arabs in the Middle East. He along with others was dismissed. As there was no nationalist organisation, he joined the ranks of Muslim Conference, but his approach was non-communal and he had a socialist bent of mind. The political organisation founded by Sheikh Abdullah provided the right type of forum which suited his genius and temperament. In 1938 he made a stormy and a spirited speech from the platform of the Muslim Conference in Talab Khatikan, Jammu which greatly influenced its deliberations and helped in transforming it into a Nationalist Organisation. It was because of him and late S. Budh Singh that Sheikh Abdullah changed the entire complexion of the freedom struggle by giving it a national character. It was in 1939 that a resolution was passed by this Organisation transforming itself into National Conference, thus throwing its doors open to Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs etc. Soon after the historic speech that Raja M. Akbar Khan made, he was arrested, charged with treason against the State and was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. The Raja was an embodiment of human qualities transcending all considerations of caste, clime and religion. His promising career was cut short by his early death and his loss was greatly felt by the non-Muslim population of Mirpur. There were other comrades of Raja Sahib namely, Haji Wahab Din, Mohd. Abdullah Saikhavi, Gazi Abdul Rehman, Master Roshan Lal, Comrade Tarlok Chand, Krishan Dev Sethi and Ch. Mohd. Shafi of Bagsar, all of whom took a leading part in the freedom struggle. It was because of their efforts that the Annual Session of the National Conference was held at Mirpur in 1942. This movement made its impact on Poonch district and Jagir of Chenani. Sh. Ghulam Qadir Bandey and Mohd. Din Bandey and a band of youngmen spearheaded the movement for responsible Government and aligned themselves with the National Conference.

In the *Jagir* of Chenani two local leaders M/s Dina Nath Kalia and Ch. Daya Ram belonging to Chenani led the Satyagrah Movement, inspired and guided by S. Budh Singh against the oppressive rule of the Raja of Chenani. They braved imprisonment, suffered hardships and their sufferings paved the way for freedom from the despotic rule of the princely order.

In Jammu the torch of freedom was first lighted by L. Hans Raj, whose statue stands opposite to Dharamsala Sunder Singh. He was a pioneer in the field of political and social reform. He was the founder of Dogra Sabha—an organisation founded on non-communal lines, which worked for the removal of grievances of the people living in rural areas, i.e. for the supply of drinking water to Kandi areas, removal of untouchability, prevention of smoking, child marriage and abolition of Begar. Prominent men like General Samundar Khan, Munshi Asadullah, an Advocate, Allah Rakha Sagar, a journalist and many others remained active members of Dogra Sabha, which acted as a channel for ventilating the grievances of the people and thus the movement for the establishment of a responsible Government under the aegis of Maharaja gathered momentum.

The National Conference Movement could not penetrate deeply in the rural areas because a section of people of Jammu preferred Congress as a lesser evil to the National Conference, whose past history of having been associated with the uprising of the Muslims against the Maharaja's rule had prejudiced them in 1931. Further, Muslim League of Mr. Jinnah had also influenced the Muslims of Jammu who had formed a Muslim Conference under the leadership of Ch. Ghulam Abbas.

In 1946 the Cabinet Mission came to India and recognised the right of the Rulers of the States to accede either to India or to Pakistan. This created a lot of stir and also confusion amongst the people of the State about their future alignment. Meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah had in the same year become the President of All India States People Conference. He, therefore, not only voiced the feelings of 40 lakhs of people of Jammu and Kashmir but also of ten crores of people who then resided in the Indian States ruled by the Princes. He raised slogans of Quit Kashmir as a symbolic for releasing the States from the shackles of despotic rule of the princely order, so that people of the States could also breath and enjoy the fruits of freedom like their brethren in the rest of the country.

L. Mulk Raj Saraf, the father of journalism in the State contributed a lot to the Freedom Movement by his writings in his weekly paper 'Ranbir'. He battled against a firmly established bureaucratic regime of princely order to give expression to the democratic urge and aspiration of the people for which he had

to suffer on several occasions To this paper and to the fiery writings of another leader of National Conference S. Mahinder Singh, Editor of 'Watan', goes the credit of lending a powerful support to Sheikh Abdullah and his National Conference. Similar contribution was made by a Weekly Paper 'Sach' which was first started by Raja Mohd. Akbar Khan of Mirpur and later on its charge was taken by Master Roshan Lal in 1947. There are yet many powerful personalities like Comrade Dhanwantri, Krishandev Sethi, whose activities behind the scene contributed to the evolution of a democratic order by which power has passed into the hands of middle class, but it has not percolated down to the labouring poor whose lot has yet to be improved.

Balraj Puri contributed to the struggle freedom movement as a youth leader and editor of a Weekly Paper 'Kashmir Sansar'— which became the official organ of Quit India Movement in this State as well as the neighbouring Punjab.

Balraj Puri a political analyst and an intellectual describes Budh Singh as the founder of freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir. The Dogras of Jammu honoured him thrice by electing to the Presidentship of the celebrated Dogra Sabha the first premier and non-communal public organisation in the State. Kashmiris gave him the unique honour by electing him the President of National Conference first time in 1942 and second time in 1944, only other person who occupied this august office before 1953, was no other person than Sheikh Abdullah.

He sums up his biographical note in the following words:

> "With his crusading zeal, courage of conviction, radical views, capacity to undergo hardships and fire-brand eloquence, Budh Singh could be described as the father of the political unrest in Jammu and Kashmir State. He raised his banner of revolt against the authoritarian monarchical rule long before any organised political party started in the State. With his non-sectarian and cosmopolitan outlook he also sought to bridge cultural and regional diversities that abound in the State."

# 15

# *The Role of the Kashmiri Pandits in the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*

J.N. GANHAR

The people of Kashmir, like their brethren in the rest of the country, have waged a long and arduous struggle to win their freedom. But an objective assessment of this struggle is beset with many difficulties and hurdles. Firstly, we are perhaps too near the fruition of the struggle to be able to make a correct, or rather, a balanced appraisal. Some events that loom large in our eyes today may, in the long run, prove to be of but passing importance. Secondly, some of the principal actors in this liberation struggle, including the tallest of them all, namely, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, are yet happily with us. This is no doubt a great advantage, for any doubts that arise or difficulties that crop up can at once be referred to them for clarification. But their very presence may also be an inhibiting factor in an honest expression of views that might not be to their liking, especially to the liking of those of them in authority. And to curry favour with the latter some of those writing about the struggle might assign them an exaggerated role, or overlook their failings and mistakes.

One great handicap that comes in the way of a correct appraisal of the freedom struggle is the lack of access to some official records, especially of the erstwhile British Residency in Kashmir and the Political Department of the British Indian Government,

both of whom are known to have played a rather dubious role in Kashmir to serve the British imperial interests, ever since the British Residency was established in Kashmir.

Again, as will readily be admitted, many strands have gone to the making of the freedom struggle in Kashmir. But the tendency among some sections of the majority community is to ignore or underestimate the part played by the minorities, especially the Kashmiri Pandits. But it is obvious that a correct understanding and balanced appraisal of the struggle as a whole cannot be possible without due appreciation of the contribution made by the various strands that went into making the broad stream that constituted the struggle for liberation of the people of Kashmir. It is, therefore, proposed to briefly dwell upon the contribution made by the Kashmiri Pandit.

Kashmiri Pandits constitute a very small minority of the people of Kashmir in so far as mere numbers are concerned. But their intelligence, industry and initiative have always enabled them to play a very significant part in the social, cultural and political life of their heavenly homeland. Their role in the freedom struggle, though often misunderstood and even misrepresented, has very largely been one of which they could justly feel proud. It would not be very much of an exaggeration if the first vague beginnings of this struggle are ascribed to their initiative and courage.

For a correct appreciation of their role in this important field it is necessary to go back in history about a hundred years before Independence, i.e., to the advent of Dogra rule.

As is well-known, the redoubtable Dogra Chief, Gulab Singh acquired Kashmir in 1846 A.D. He got the paradisial valley for a sum of Rs. seventy-five lakhs, as also his services to the British. The British authorities were constrained to sell the valley of the Kashmir as the Board of Directors of the East India Company were not happy with Lord Hardinge's Forward Policy ; nor would they countenance the huge expenditure that the war with the Sikhs entailed. So to save their face and find the much-needed money, a trusted lieutenant of his, Sir Henry Lawrence, came to his (Lord Hardinge's) rescue and brought on the scene Raja Gulab Singh, who had not been unfriendly to the British in their war with the Sikhs, and who lay in wait for an opportunity to add to his domain, conferred on him by

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and set himself up as an independent ruler in his own right and beyond the pale of the authority of the Lahore Darbar.

But Gulab Singh did not get possession of the new principality without trouble. The Sikh Governor of Kashmir, Shaikh Imam-ud-Din put up some resistance. Dr. Mohidin Sufi quotes Baron Schonberg for the view that the Shaikh though believed to be well affected towards him, opposed Gulab Singh under *written instructions* from Raja Lal Singh, Wazir of Lahore, i.e., the Sikh Prime Minister.[1]

It is not unlikely that Gulab Singh could have wrested control of the Valley by himself, but that would have entailed bloodshed and violence and antagonised the people over whom he was to rule. So the astute Raja approached the British who in turn put pressure on the Lahore Darbar and made Imam-ud-Din end his resistance. The Shaikh, a non-Kashmiri, finally left the Valley on October 23, 1846 A.D. According to Dr. Sufi Col. Lawrence "described the arrival of Gulab Singh in Kashmir as by no means displeasing to the inhabitants of the province who were loud in their complaints of the tyranny of Shaikh Imam-ud-Din".[2] He quotes a writer in the *Calcutta Review* for the fact that "not a single Kashmiri took up arms on either side".[3] To the Kashmiris, the writer added, "both armies were alike odious, for they disturbed the peace of the Valley, destroyed trade, and, what affected the daily life of the people, made rice dear".[4]

These contemporaneous quotations show beyond the shadow of a doubt the futility of the recent attempts by some quarters to project Shaikh Imam-ud-Din as the leader of an incipient popular revolt on the assumption of Kashmir's sovereignty by the Dogra Chief. For that kind of development the Valley had to wait for about eighty years. But the first feeble attempts in that direction were in evidence much earlier.

Soon after the transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh, the Britishers began to have second thoughts about it. As gradually more and more of them, including Lord Hardinge, visited the Valley, and saw its celestial beauty, they regretted its transfer to the Dogra Chief. This was particularly so after the Punjab was annexed. In their anxiety to somehow get Kashmir, some Anglo-Indian newspapers began alleging 'misgovernment' in the

Valley in the time of Gulab Singh's son and successor, Ranbir Singh and openly declared that 'misgovernment' established occasion for British intervention. But the enlightened Maharaja firmly stood his ground and resisted all attempts to set up a residency on Kashmir. But when death removed him from the scene in 1857 A.D., the British lost no time to renew their pressure on his successor, Pratap Singh. The pious Maharaja also resisted the attempt for some time but had to give way ultimately as his own brothers, especially, Raja Amar Singh, were against him and hand in glove with the British.[5]

Not only was a British Resident forced on Kashmir but Pratap Singh was relieved of all powers, on the trumpted up charge of conspiring with Russia and Dalip Singh, and the administration placed in the hands of a Council, under the control of the Resident. This Council of five members included both the younger brothers of the Maharaja, Ram Singh and Amar Singh. The shabby treatment meted out to Pratap Singh incensed the Kashmiris, and one of them, Pandit Gopinath Kaul raised loud protests against it in his paper, *Akhbar-i-Am* of Lahore.

Except for the Mughal period of rule, Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims had been the helpless victims of ruthless exploitation and oppression even since the reign of the noble Zain-ul-Abidin *Badshah*. While under the Pathans both suffered almost equally, under the Sikhs, it was mostly the Muslims. Pandits, some of whom had worked their way up into the favour of some of the Pathan Governors, also, were, for obvious reasons, in favour with the Sikhs too, though even those who held high offices were left with but little of what they got by their Sikh masters through heavy exactions in the shape of *nazranas*. The local bureaucracy was, however, mainly manned by the Pandits.[6] The poor Muslims were ruthlessly oppressed. The cultivators were so heavily taxed that they had little incentive to till the land.

But with the coming of the Dogras even the Pandits began to lose their favoured position, though they continued to be employed on petty jobs. Gulab Singh's Prime Minister, Dewan Jwala Sahai, "aimed at the creation of a Punjabi Hindu Ruling class on whose loyalty he and his successors could place implicit faith".[7] With the immigration of waves of Punjabi settlers, the Pandit found himself gradually thrust to the background. The

Dogras too were kept almost entirely out of the civil administration, though the doors of the army were open to them.[8] Trade and commerce were snatched away from Kashmiris and because a monopoly of Punjabi Khatris who came in large numbers and settled in the Valley.

During Pratap Singh's reign, and especially when the Council was formed, waves of office-hunters from the neighbouring province of Punjab moved into Kashmir. According to Jia Lal Kilam, all the important positions came to be occupied by them and even in subordinate offices they found place in large numbers.[9] According to another writer, eighty-five per cent of the civil administration in Kashmir was usurped by the people of Punjab, a few lower jobs, such as *Patwari*, School master, forest guard and clerk went to Kashmiri Pandits who were utilised by the British Departmental Heads. He adds, "roughly 75 per cent of the revenues went to Punjab, 15 per cent to Jammu and 10 per cent to Kashmir, out of which Muslims got a very negligible share".[10] He goes on to add that the people were so poor that even Hindus could not change earthern utensils on such days as Shivratri.

The outsiders who dominated the administration wanted to keep the Kashmiris perpetually backward. In fact one of the Members of the Council is stated to have recommended that no college should ever be opened in Kashmir. But he did not succeed in his nefarious design. Pandit Daya Kishen Kaul, son of Raja Suraj Kaul, the lone Kashmiri Pandit member of the Council (he was domiciled in the Punjab) got a college opened in Srinagar through the good offices of Mrs. Annie Besant, leader of Theosophical Society. Pandit youths joined the college named Sri Pratap Hindu College, in large numbers. The Muslims who lacked progressive leadership, failed to take advantage of the facilities for modern education, which, however, were by no means extensive.

The denial of opportunities to the educated Hindu youth in Jammu and Kashmir gave rise to a lot of resentment and a number of freshly turned out graduates from Pratap Hindu College started a campaign in the outside press for securing the rights of State subjects. The Jammu Hindus also felt similarly and they organised themselves under the auspices of an organisation named the Dogra Sabha; in Kashmir the protest took shape

in the form of a campaign in the Press outside the State, there being no newspaper whatsoever in existence in the State. The Dogra Sabha extended its activities to Kashmir also. A number of meetings under its auspices were held in Jammu and Srinagar to press the demand for appointment of local people to posts in the civil administration. A big political conference was held at Jammu, it was attended by a number of educated Kashmiri Pandits also, one of them the late Pandit Jia Lal Kilam was chosen to preside over it. As Kilam has pointed out "a sort of vague nationalism was taking root in the minds of the educated people and in the face of the common outside menace the educated classes both of Jammu and Srinagar felt a sort of common kinship". The people's efforts bore fruit in a revised definition of State Subject which remains basically unchanged to this day. This was towards the close of Pratap Singh's reign and in its formulation the Maharaja's nephew, Hari Singh, played a conspicuous role.

The outside Hindus, mostly Punjabis, who had come to man the services, were not in the good books of the British officers, because they were imbued with fresh ideas inspired by the great nationalist leader of the Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai. They therefore patronised the Kashmiri Pandits and appointed them in large numbers in all the departments headed by them. They even encouraged them in their struggle against the outsiders. Accordingly, a number of them, especially Pandit Gwashalal Koul, the late Pt. Shankar Lal Koul, and Pt. Jia Lal Kilam, wrote extensively in the outside press, calling attention to the conditions prevailing in Kashmir and issued hand-written cyclostyled posters in which the shortcomings of the ruling junta were discussed.

A number of Kashmiri Pandits who were at Lahore organised a big conference there. The conference which was presided over by Pt. Peary Mohan Aattatriya of Delhi, created quite a stir in government cricles. Pt. Kashyap Bandhu, who was the moving spirit behind the conference, is a nationalist to the core. Shri Bandhu, who is happily still with us, set up a Labour Board at Lahore to look after the welfare and interests of Kashmir labourers—all of them Muslims—who used to migrate to the Punjab for work during winter months.

The Kashmiri Pandit, however, lost the Britishers' support

and sympathy when on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in 1930, he openly demonstrated his active interest in the country's struggle for liberation. A big protest procession was taken by them in Srinagar and at the end of it a big bonfire of foreign cloth was held at Maharajgunj in the heart of the city. This procession created, in the words of its chief organiser, Shri Jia Lal Kilam, "a deep wound in the heart of the representatives of the British Government in Kashmir, and their friendliness towards the Kashmiri Pandits ended and they tried to find other supporters."

What with the example of Kashmiri Pandits and the efforts of the far-sighted Maulana Rasul Shah, and exhortations of some outside Muslims, who had come to occupy important positions in the State of Muslims of the Valley and also taken to education, through belatedly. And in 1930 there arrived back in Srinagar Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah after securing an M.Sc. degree at Aligarh. This was a time when the atmosphere was thick with revolutionary ideas. The young Muslim who at first took up a teacher's job soon gave it up to lead his people. But most unfortunately the political movement in the State could not divest itself of the strong communal influence from across the border in the Punjab. Therefore, the movement ran along communal lines for about half a dozen years, and Kashmiri Pandits were the victims of mob fury sometimes. This naturally made the Pandits apprehensive. But thanks to the enlightened lead of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the positive attitude of the Kashmiri Pandit leaders, it was not long before the movement was able to lift itself from the bog of narrow communalism and be a contributing body of inestimable value to the national movement of India.

That Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Pandit leaders were from the very beginning wedded to nationalism is clear from many of their pronouncements from time to time. Thus in his Presidential address to the very first session of the Muslim Conference at Srinagar, held on October 15, 1932, Sheikh Sahib declared, "The Kashmir movement is not communal, but has come into existence to get the grievances of all classes of people redressed. Our country cannot progress until we learn to live amicably with one another".

The Pandits, for their part, were not unresponsive. In a

memorandum to the Maharaja, outlining their demands, the Kashmiri Pandits, unlike any other community, unequivocally said, "Consistently with our culture and the tradition of our community...we cannot look at things through communal glasses.... Long before the Musalmans of Kashmir had become politically conscious, it was the Kashmiri Pandits who fought for modernism in administration. It was they who first demanded a legislature, a free press and a free platform. They cannot go back on their nationalism.... Recently they have been not so vocal on political reforms, but the reason is that the Musalmans have presented their claims avowedly on communal grounds and for communal ends. Kashmiri Pandits are as anxious as any other community for the introduction of constitutional government, but they are equally anxious that the body politic should not be corrupted by the canker of communalism".

A very remarkable fact about the Pandits' catholicity of outlook on political matters is that they invited the President of the Muslim Conference to attend the inaugural session of All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference in Srinagar. And in the words of its President, the late Shri Jia Lal Kilam, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was "so much impressed with the sentiments expressed in the Presidential address, that he picked up a garland and jumped on the rostrum and he garlanded him". Contacts between the Hindu and Muslim leaders continued; so much so that joint public meetings would sometimes be arranged. In March 1933, the Muslim Conference constituted a sub-committee to "find out ways and means of bridging the gulf between the communities and uniting the Hindus and Muslims". Kashmiris are basically catholic and tolerant and communal politics was therefore alien to the soil of the Valley. But since the political movement was launched by the majority under a communal nomenclature, the State Hindus, particularly Kashmiri Pandits, were apprehensive and could not join it. And for his part Sheikh Abdullah felt that unless non-Muslims made common cause with the majority community advance towards the goal of secular responsible government would be very tardy and the secular society of his dreams would only remain a distant dream. Accordingly Sheikh Sahib and his principal lieutenants, notably Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, felt that the time had come for them to make the first move

towards reorienting Kashmir politics. Accordingly, the weekly *Hamdard* was launched on August 1, 1935. Sheikh Sahib started this paper, in collaboration with a Kashmiri Pandit, Shri Prem Nath Bazaz, to popularise his ideology for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and to lay the foundation of progressive nationalism in the State.

Sheikh Abdullah's appeal to non-Muslims to participate in Responsible Day, on May 8, 1936, met an encouraging response. On August 29, 1938, a joint manifesto, called National Demand, was published under the signature of twelve prominent Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders. The State authorities met this peoples' demand with a fresh wave of repression. About a thousand persons were imprisoned; these included about a hundred Pandits, and their leaders like Kashyap Bandhu, Jia Lal Kilam, Sham Lal Saraf, Dr. S.N. Peshin, P.N. Bazaz.

Repression only strengthened the forces of nationalism. Realising this the State Prime Minister, the late N. Gopalswami, released all arrested leaders and workers, by the end of February 1939. A special convention of the Muslim Conference was called soon after, under the Chairmanship of the late Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, and the Muslim Conference was formally converted into National Conference. Thus through the untiring efforts of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the cooperation of progressive-minded Kashmiri Pandits' leaders National Conference was a broad-based nationalist organisation of all sections of the people inhabiting the State brought into existence.

Before bringing this narrative to a close, it must be mentioned in passing, that the National Conference and the national movement in Jammu and Kashmir derived inspiration and not a little of support from the Indian National Congress and in particular from its great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a Kashmiri Pandit.

## NOTES

1. G.M.D. Sufi's *Kashmir*, pp. 773-74.
2. -do- p. 774.
3. -do- p. 775.
4. -do- pp. 804-805.
5. -do- p. 807.
6. J. L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits.*
7. Gwashalal Koul, *Kashmir—Then and Now*, p. 98.
8. J. L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*

# 16

# *Involvement of Minorities in the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*

PROFESSOR S.L. PANDIT

At the outset it would seem necessary to clarify the plural social structure of the Jammu and Kashmir State. It may be recalled that the State has been throughout its history of a century and more a multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural unit and by no means a socially homogenous entity. The overwhelming majority of the population comprised members professing the Muslim faith. The minority groups could be listed under several heads. First, there are the religious minorities—Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, with a sprinkling of Christians. The Hindu community may be subdivided into several groups. The Hindus of Jammu further subdivided into Brahmins, Rajputs and Harijans..., though a minority in the overall picture, constitute now also the majority community in the Jammu province. Then there are about sixty thousand Sikhs almost equally divided between the Jammu and Kashmir regions. In the Valley itself, the Brahmins—called usually Kashmiri Pandits—comprise the main minority group. The Buddhists constitute more than half the population of the Ladakh region. They are in a sense also a regional minority.

From the linguistic and cultural point of view, the State, as it stood in 1947, could be divided into five distinct regions. First, there is the Kashmiri-speaking region, comprising the Valley

and the adjoining southern areas across the Pir Panchal Range. People living in this area form more than half the total population of the State. Then there is the Dogri-speaking belt of Jammu having close cultural affiliations with the adjoining areas of Himachal Pradesh. Next, the south-western area of Jammu has been a Punjabi-speaking region culturally linked with West Punjab. This part of the State is now mainly under Pakistani control. Then, what in the old days was called the Frontier Province of the State may be divided into two linguistic regions, the Balti-speaking area now under Pakistani occupation and the Ladakhi-speaking area.

It may be recalled that in 1931, language was hardly a problem in the State politics. These regional languages—like Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi and Ladakhi—were spoken in their respective areas but had never been recognized through history as media of culture, or education, or administration. Urdu, with use of English at higher levels, was the official language of the State and also the medium of education at lower stages. It is only after 1947 that the study of regional languages has been encouraged, resulting in considerable progress in their literary output. It is, therefore, of interest that, in the historical blueprint of the political and social objectives of the National Conference, issued in 1944 in the form of a pamphlet, entitled *New Kashmir*, the leaders of the freedom movement envisaged the necessity of encouraging and developing the mother-tongue of these linguistic groups in the State.

Historically speaking, the vast Muslim majority of the State was a neglected section of the population. Their representation in the services was meagre, and they were woefully backward in modern education. Moreover, all Kashmiris were subject to many unjust discriminations. For instance, they could not be recruited in the armed forces of the State. It may appear incredible, but nobody could then sell or purchase agricultural land in the Valley, as the ownership of all land was vested in the person of the ruler. In fact, during a century of Dogra rule, the Valley of Kashmir was treated as a purchased colony of the Jammu Maharajas. The Kashmiri Pandits, however, though sharing the disabilities inflicted on all Kashmiris, were comparatively better off because of their educational progress and their comparative preponderance in the lower ranks of

government services. In Jammu the lot of Harijans was most miserable. They were mostly landless tillers of the social or engaged in the lowest menial work of society. Because of their utter backwardness, they were hardly aware of their misery. The frontier region, including the District of Ladakh, was an almost inaccessible area where living conditions were of the most primitive type.

There were simmerings of discontent manifest among the Muslims of Kashmir as far back as 1924, till the situation erupted into an upheaval in 1931. The uprising of 1931, viewed in this background, was a movement that, in the first instance, involved only the Muslim masses of the State. Because of its communal character, most of the non-Muslim minorities at first remained aloof from this movement. The Hindus of Jammu, both the privileged and the oppressed sections, looked upon it as a revolt against the rule of the Hindu Maharaja. In the Valley, the Kashmiri Pandits—more than half of them living in the city of Srinagar—have traditionally been educationally the most advanced section of the population. Through centuries, covering the Muslim and the Sikh and the Dogra rule, their main source of livelihood has been government service. This upsurge of the Muslim masses filled their minds with fears regarding their economic future. Further, they felt somewhat insecure because of some incidents of anti-Hindu rioting indulged in by the gravely-provoked and frenzied Muslim mobs on the thirteenth of July, 1931.

The internal situation in the State somewhat quietened down by early 1932, following the appointment of two Commissions of Inquiry under Middleton and Glancy, on the pressure of the British Paramount Power. The same year saw the establishment of the all Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, the first mass based political party in the history of the State. On the basis of the recommendations made in the Glancy Report, many minor grievances of the Muslims were sought to be redressed; and in 1934 was inaugurated a legislative body, called the Praja Sabha, about half of its members being elected on a limited franchise and the rest comprising officials and nominated members. This assembly had very limited powers of legislation and hardly any control over the administration. In the first elections held for this body Muslim Conference easily captured

an absolute majority of the elected seats.

In the thirties the Muslim Conference steadily forged ahead as the most popular mass-based political party in the State. At the same time, its leaders gradually realized that the problems of the oppressed sections of all communities were similar; consequently, from time to time they made overtures to the minority leaders in order to seek their cooperation. Contacts in the legislature also helped to clear up misundertandings. In this context, the part played by the late Sardar Budh Singh must be remembered with respect. He was a retired Government official who had now got elected to the Assembly as an independent. During his service as a revenue official he had been scrupulously honest and had occasions to witness the miserable lot of the common people during his official tours in the countryside. To many people's surprise, he now gave his full support to the Muslim Conference members whenever they proposed in the Praja Sabha any measure for ameliorating the lot of the peasantry.

The Kashmir movement, it may be remembered, was influenced also by the various political movements then in operation in the rest of the country. At first it gained sympathy and support from the Muslim political groups of India. Later on it felt strongly the impact of the Gandhian movements and gradually came closer to the National Congress. This process was accelerated by the keen personal interest evinced by Jawaharlal Nehru in the internal freedom struggle in Kashmir. In the meanwhile, the fears and misgivings of the minority groups also got allayed to a large extent. These developments culminated in the emergency, in 1938, of the National demand for self-rule under the aegis of the Maharaja. This demand was whole-heartedly supported by many outstanding leaders of the Kashmiri Pandit community. Among these may be mentioned the names of the late Shri J.L. Kilam, Pandit Kashyap Bandhu, the late Shri D.P. Dhar, Shri Sham Lal Saraf, and Dr. S.N. Peshin. Similarly, this move initiated by the leaders of the Muslim Conference found vocal non-Muslim supporters from Jammu and Mirpur. By this time, Sardar Budh Singh had almost completely lined up with the Muslim Conference. And when the National Demand was rejected by the Government, they followed a non-violent agitation in the summer of

1938 in consequence of which, apart from the leading figures of the Muslim Conference, many non-Muslim leaders and workers had to go to jail.

In early 1939, the Maharaja's government announced a further instalment of political reforms and ordered a general jail delivery of political detenus. By a happy coincidence, the All India State People's Conference met soon after at Ludhiana (Punjab) under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. Most of the released political leaders and workers of Jammu and Kashmir now proceeded to Ludhiana and decided to merge their movement with the All-India struggle against the autocracy of princely rule. It was at Ludhiana that, under the advice of Jawaharlal Nehru, a decision was taken to convert the Muslim Conference into the National Conference and to throw open its doors to citizens of all communities. This historic decision was implemented later in the year 1939.

The war years were a period of political stalemate in India and this stalemate was reflected also in the internal situation in Jammu and Kashmir. 1944, however, saw the publication of a pamphlet, entitled *New Kashmir*, which summed up the political and social objectives of the National Conference. Many of the provisions incorporated in this document are now out-of-date and irrelevant in the context of the developments, then unforeseen, following the liberation and partition of India. But it is of significance that by then the Muslim leaders had realized the imperative need of winning the confidence of the minorities, as is clear from the following statement in *New Kashmir*:

> "Every citizen shall have one vote, provided that, during the transitional period, Sikhs, Kashmiri Pandits and Harijans shall be provided with two reserved seats each, and for this purpose they shall exercise the right of a second vote." (Page 19).

The final important phase of the liberation struggle in Jammu and Kashmir was the "Quit Kashmir" movement initiated and led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah during 1946-47. One need not here go into details of this phase of Kashmir history, except to note that among the hundreds of leaders and workers who

suffered imprisonment, forced exile and persecution during this struggle there were a considerable number of Hindus, Sikhs and others Chenani *jagir* and school teachers from almost all regions of the State. Truly, we can claim that by 1946 the liberation movement in Jammu and Kashmir had attained a national and a secular character.

# 17

# *Role of Women in the Freedom Struggle of Kashmir*

Dr. (Mrs.) MADHVI YASIN

'Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains', so said Geneva born French philosopher Rousseau, whose call coupled with the other philosophers brought a revolution in Europe known as the French Revolution which gave to the world three cherished rights of mankind—equality, liberty and fraternity. Liberty is in the very veins of nature. A sapling grown in a pot remains stunted even with all the manure and care, whereas the same planted in an open space blooms into a majestic Chinar tree.[1] Man, who is the only creature gifted with intelligence and wisdom of all the animate species, strives for freedom at the cost of his life. The history of the world is replete with the glowing examples of the nations, who had attained liberty after great sacrifices. Very ably, the poet has depicted, "For Freedom's battle once begun bequeathed by bleeding sire to son, though baffled oft, is ever won."[2] The same is true to the freedom struggle of Kashmir.

The emerald green valley of Kashmir is a vertible heaven on earth. Beauty and grace both in nature and man has been generously showered upon this paradise by Almighty God. The happy vale was sold for seventy-five lakh rupees by Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General of the East India Company, to Raja Gulab Singh Dogra, as a reward for his perfidy against his

Sikh master and the people of the Punjab.[3] The new masters of the newly created Jammu and Kashmir State ruled like despots, ignoring the natural aspirations of the people and their moral and material upliftment.

Being a protected State under the British Crown,[4] it was indirectly placed under the control of the Government of India. On September 25, 1885, the day Pratap Singh was formally installed as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir the Goverment of India replaced the 'Officer on Special Duty' by the British Resident in Kashmir, on the plea of reforming the administration.[5] The people of Kashmir were now subjected to the double tyranny and harassment of the dual control of the Dogra and the British. Every cloud has a silver lining. With the advent of the English Resident in Kashmir, also arrived missionaries. They were moved by the pitiable and pathetic condition of the people, labouring under ignorance. The worst sufferers were the Muslims, who formed the bulk of the population, which was generally speaking an agricultural community. The women were steeped in ignorance, superstitions and poverty. The missionaries started schools, and thence dawned upon the first ray of light and learning.[6] Thus the freedom movement in the State was the outcome of the impact of the West and the British India, which filled the Kashmiri mind with new aspirations and hopes. They also aspired for a respectable and decent life.

This was the time when the British India was passing through the crucial period of the way of liberation. Suffering had become the watchword of the freedom fighters. The Indian States no longer remained a mute witness to the metamorphosis going on in British India. The people of Kashmir rose from their age old slumber, and took up cudgels not only against the alien rule, but also against all exploiting agencies such as the Jagirdars, Landlords, Capitalists, mullahs and corrupt officials.[7] The women of Kashmir, who had a long and illustrious history of being great scholars, Queens and administrators,[8] came forward to share the responsibility of freeing the motherland and to build a New Kashmir out of the ashes of the past.[9]

The struggle for freedom and the demand for democratisation of the administration in Jammu and Kashmir goes back to the year 1930-31.[10] The origin of the discontent was purely economic, i.e. inadequate representation in the State services and in

the economic and industrial life of the State generally. The Muslim tillers, labourers and artisans were the excellent target of exploitation by the richer sections of the society, which overwhelming consisted of non-Muslims. They (the Muslims) were denied the fruits of Western education under the constraints of circumstances, at last realised its importance. But to their utter dismay, they found that after obtaining educational degrees, the doors of the suitable jobs were closed for them.

Agrarian discontent and lack of suitable opportunities for the educated Muslims were the motivating forces for the Muslim masses to agitate against the despotic Dogra regime.[11] The year of 1924 saw a landmark in the history of Jammu and Kashmir, when the Muslim leaders presented a memorial to the Viceroy, Lord Reading on his visit to Valley in 1924.[12] The process of presentation of demands and their half-hearted consideration by the Government continued until 1930, when the Reading Room Party was formed by a few Muslim graduates to highlight the problems of the Muslim masses. Among those graduates was also Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who spearheaded the freedom movement. The movement received active approval and support from the neighbouring province of the Punjab, where under the guidance of Shaikh Mohammad Iqbal, the Kashmir Committee was founded to activise the struggle of the Kashmiri Muslims. Very soon Muslim Conference was founded in the State and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah became its President.[13]

On July 13, 1931, there was a massive demonstration against the State Government and the Maharaja. The Muslim demonstrators had gathered outside the prison walls, where the trial of a non-Kashmiri Afghan was taking place for sedition. They demanded that they might also allowed to hear the proceedings. The Sessions Judge ordered the armed police to disperse the crowd. The police lathi-charged the crowd, which started pelting stones and throwing burning kangries, traditional Kashmiri weapons till today. Then the police opened fire with the result that twenty-one people reported killed by bullets and many received injuries.[14]

This was the occasion, when the poor women of the working classes of the Muslim society fought shoulder to shoulder along with their counterpart against injustice and misrule of the Dogra

despots. This is a unique feature of Kashmir's freedom struggle, that during its first phase the women participants came from 'have nots' section who could in no way be called as emancipated, enlightened and educated. The instinct was inborn, result of centuries of suffering, denial and torture. It may also be interpreted as traditional characteristic of the Kashmiri women's yearning for independence. During this period, the women processionists, many of them with suckling babies in their arms, passed through the streets raising slogans either against the oppressive Dogra regime or demanding the release of their imprisoned leaders and for the establishment of a democratic set-up. They were surrounded by the armed police and were ordered to disperse. On their refusal, they were abused and molested. They used to appear on the streets in large numbers at a moment's notice. After a few days, the body of a Muslim woman was recovered from the river in Srinagar.

The Muslim women took out a procession on July 24, which terminated at the Mazar-i-Shohda. They again came out in a procession on July 27, with about 5,000 carrying black flags. It was lathi-charged, in which 10 women were injured. Addressing the procession at Mazar-i-Shohda, a woman speaker said:

> "Our men should sit in their homes and wear *burqas*... . We are proud of our Punjabi Muslim brethren but so far they have merely confined themselves to merely issuing statements... . We request the members of the British Parliament to take our grievances to the League of Nations... . We appeal to the army not to oppress women as it was no chivalry. But if they have any such instructions, they will find us ready to meet the challenge."[15]

In 1931, when the Government had handed over the administration to the military command, on September 6, a crowd of women agitators was lathi-charged and their modesty was outraged. Some women were injured and fainted. The brutalities perpetrated on defenceless women processionists were universally condemned, even by Hare Kishan Koul, the Prime Minister of the Maharaja. A few days later the women took out a very big procession, which was assaulted with gushing water from fire brigade hoses. They were drenched to skin in September

cold, stood the ground and held a meeting ventilating their grievances.[16]

**Women Martyrs in 1931 Upheaval**

In Shopian, Sajida Bano, aged 25 years, who had recently lost her husband, received a bullet wound in military firing. She was pregnant and died along with the child on the spot. The second woman to die was Jan Begam, widow of Abel Lone, aged 35 years, resident of Khwajapura in the locality of Nowshera; Srinagar, who was killed in a police firing. The third martyr was Begum Bohru, better known as Freechi, a specimen of the famed Kashmiri beauty, aged 30, widow of Khwaja Razaq Joo Bohru, resident of mohalla Jalal Sahib, Baramula, who died of a bullet wound received in military firing. Her offence was that she had hurled a kangri on the face of a police officer in course of a procession of women which disfigured him permanently. The fourth woman to die was Fazli on September 24, 1931, when the military opened fire on a procession of women which was parading through the Muslim Bazar, Srinagar.[17] Some of them were arrested and had to undergo imprisonment.

These women were forerunners of the educated women participants in the later phase of the freedom struggle. They attended the meetings organised by the Muslim political leaders or by the Muslim Conference. Their patriotism was fired by the speech of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who started with spell-binding recitation of the Quran before breaking into Kashmiri language. It is a sad commentary on the sagacity of the leadership, which failed to canalise the pent up energies of those women freedom fighters, released by the 1931 upheaval. They had silently suffered in their thousands, and passed into oblivion without any recognition or fame. Some of them had undoubtedly the potentialities of leadership, but in the absence of proper guidance and training such a valuable assets was lost to the national cause.

The last stage in the freedom struggle of Kashmir was from 1936 to 1946, with its spectacular turning into secular movement. It was a struggle between 'haves' and 'have-nots', 'oppressed' and 'oppressors'. In 1939 the Muslim Conference was transformed into National Conference.[18] During this decade the women in Kashmir were engaged in the pursuit of education and learning

to qualify themselves to join the mainstream of the national life.

The last phase of popular resistance against the State Government in Kashmir was Quit Kashmir Movement started by National Conference in May, 1946.[19] The new slogan derived its inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi's 'Quit India Movement of 1942'. Quite naturally the spokesman, author and architect of the New Movement was Sheikh Abdullah, who had been honoured by the title of 'Sher-i-Kashmir' by his followers. He was arrested along with other leaders of the National Conference.[20] The women of Kashmir from all walks of life came forward with redoubled enthusiasm and energy in support of their beloved leader.

**Some Prominent Women Freedom Fighters**

Jan Ded was the heroine of 1931 upheaval. Being illiterate and belonging to 'have nots', she could not rise to the height of national eminence. Her natural talents were not exploited. To fight against injustice and for attaining legitimate rights was in response to an urge within her. She was pragmatist, and was poles apart from many of the male political leaders of Kashmir in secularising the political atmosphere and shunning narrow communal loyalties. She was ebullient, outspoken and demanding. This incurred the wrath of the top Muslim leaders, and she had to retire from the active politics after 1934.[21] She is one of the many women freedom fighters, who found no place in the pantheon of the freedom fighters.

Zoni Gujree, a milk man's daughter drawn into the 1946 Quit Kashmir Movement is a living testimony in proving that freedom's call was not restricted to the upper and educated sections of the female society. She typified the Kashmiri beauty, vivacity and elegance. She was at that time in her teens, and her husband was dead against her entrance to the political whirlpool. Wife of a poor, working man, politics was no luxury for her, home was to be looked after. Pressure and force could not confine her to the four walls of home, breaking all the shackles she came out to defend freedom, sacrificing the demands of hearth and home. She was nine times put behind the bars, but no suffering could deter the freedom loving daughter of

Kashir.[22] Her magnetic oratory drew large throngs of women agitators. Several times she was attacked by the armed police. At one of the assaults made by the military police at Fateh Kadal, she lost her only son aged 12 years, when a bullet struck the boy. During the tribal raid of 1947, she joined women's Defence force and received militia training at a place, where now stands the New Secretariat building. During this period she remained at the top with the sole aim and ambition to topple the Dogra regime, and to have a government in Kashmir by the people of Kashmir, for the people of Kashmir, and of the people of Kashmir, headed by their beloved leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

Her sacrifices to the cause of freedom were widely acclaimed and appreciated. She is awarded with the title of 'Zoni Mujahid' in grateful acknowledgement for her services. She has now retired from politics, and is now receiving a pension from the Freedom Fighters' Fund. She has been to Mecca thrice, and at present basking in the memory of bygone days.

Begam Akbar Jahan, wife of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, threw herself in the freedom struggle, after Sheikh and his colleagues were arrested in 1946, 'Quit Kashmir Movement'. She kept the movement alive by her heroic courage. She broke the shackles of *purdah*, outdated customs and seclusion of the upper class women from the national life. She led anti-Government demonstrations, and her greatest work was to boost up the sagging morale of the National Conference Leaders. She is the heroine of the Quit Kashmir Movement of 1946.

Her delicate frame conceals an iron will and unbending spirit. She is a pretty daughter of an English man Harry Nedous from his charming Kashmiri Gujar wife. She represents a happy amalgamation of the east and west. Being brought up in a home which represented a synthesis of love and mercy of christianity and the Islamic tradition of fear in God, she has imbibed the best of both the religions and cultures.[23] She in accordance with her up-bringing brought the ideals of love and justice to all human beings irrespective of race, caste and creed. At the age of seventeen she passed Senior Cambridge examination with distinction. She has throughout her life and still is waging wars against the dragons of communalism and chauvinism. Service above self and emancipation of women are her life mis-

sion. She not only fought against the Dogra oppression, but also collected donations from the people in aid of the victims of the Dogra aggression. She came into contact with the Indian National Leaders.[24] Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal had a great respect for her heroism, secularism, patriotism and devotion to duty.

During Pakistani invasion, she was foremost in the women's wing of Peace Brigade, which fought Pakistani invaders. In 1947, when the country was groaning under the grip of communal frenzy, she carried the torch of peace and love to far flung areas of the State.[25] She soothed every afflicted heart with the balm of love and peace. She helped the victims of the partition in rehabilitation with a mother's care and love. It was only due to her tireless efforts that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was saved from madness of communal riots.

She is awarded the title of Madar-i-Meharban (kind mother) by the people of Kashmir, to whom she is sacred as a benign mother. She is Shakti (strength) to her husband in accordance to the Indian tradition and culture. What Sheikh Abdullah is today, is due to her unflinching devotion in the days of his trial and tribulation. She had recently been elected to the Parliament. She speaks in Kashmiri, Urdu and English with equal command and ease.

Fatima, a peasant woman is an immortal martyr of the Quit Kashmir Movement, who laughed at death to propagate the message of freedom. She was shot dead at Anantnag by the Dogra forces in May 1946, while leading a procession to voice protests against the repressive policy of the Maharaja. The Dogra forces had occupied the town and armed soldiers were parading through the streets with pointed bayonets fixed on their guns. Some people took out a procession in defiance to the military orders. Fatima, also joined at the head of the women processionists. In the crowd her slogans were the loudest, and for this she was made particular target of attack.[26] Her martyrdom is a lighthouse to the freedom fighters of Kashmir.

Another freedom fighter of the Quit Kashmir is the great woman educationist, Miss Mahmuda Ali Shah. She is one of the first highly educated woman of Kashmir, who had gone to England for studies. She is M.A., B.T. (Panj.), Dip. Education (Leads). During her student days at Lahore, she joined the "Punjab Stu-

dents Federation", which was fighting against the British Imperialism. She often addressed the meetings. In Kashmir she founded "Free Thinkers Society" which gathered under it the intellectuals of the State. This was the time when the freedom movement in Kashmir had risen to unprecedented heights under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. She joined the freedom movement under him, and rejected the two nation under his tutelage. The slogan of National Conference in those days was: "*Uttho, Meri Duniya Ke Garibon Ko Jaga Do*"... which epitomises the aims and objectives of Kashmir's freedom struggle. Nature has gifted her with regal charm and administrative capabilities. Though she had joined the State service on June 22, 1940, yet the young girl fired with the zeal of liberty found the call of nation irresistible. She staked everything and threw herself in the Quit Kashmir Movement of 1946. Again in 1947, she was in the forefront of women's resistance against the tribal raid. She did a great service in bringing normalcy to the State, when whole of the sub-continent was gripped into communal frenzy. With the same zest she served the people during 1965 Pakistani aggression.

After 1947, she left politics and dedicated her life to the cause of women education. She became the Principal of the State's first College for Women at Srinagar on November 13, 1953.[27] The college flourished under her care and supervision in all the fields of activity both curricular and extra-curricular. The college was visited off and on by the dignitaries of the world-over, who had highly commended the working of the institution. She visited USSR in 1956 as member of GOI sponsored Educational Study Delegation.

After her retirement she had returned to political field again and is actively associated with the Congress-I.

Zainab Begam is one of the first Kashmiri woman to discard *purdah*. She came to prominence during Quit Kashmir Movement. She threw her heart and soul together to the freedom movement and afterwards to political activity, in response to the call made by their beloved leader, Sheikh Abdullah. During this period she along with her brother, afterwards the Chief Minister of the State late G.M. Sadiq fought against the Dogra rule under the auspices of the National Conference. Like other members of the National Conference she had also to undergo

suffering and torture. She organised Women's Resistance Force during Pakistan invasions of Kashmir in 1947 and 1965.

Afterwards she left the National Conference and joined the Congress. She is associated with various social organisations. In 1972, she was elected member to the State Legislature from the Amirakadal constituency.[28] In 1975, she joined Sheikh Sahib's Cabinet as Minister of State for Social Welfare. At present she is actively associated with the Congress-I. She is a powerful orator.

Sajida Zamir Ahmad was another educationist, who was also associated with the freedom movement in its later stage. She is B.A., B.T., M.A. (Edu.) London. During the Pakistani aggression in 1947, she joined Women's Defence Corps. She worked actively in the various refugee camps. Her soft and affable nature restored the confidence in uprooted and forlorn mass of humanity.

She is a woman of head and heart. She took active part in National Cultural Front. She was amongst first Kashmiri girls to go on stage, playing key roles. She also took part in the film Mahjoor. She is associated with several important bodies. She attended 13th General Conference of UNESCO Paris as youngest member of the Indian Delegation in 1964. She has contributed six feature articles on Kashmir's contribution towards secularism.

She joined State education service in 1943 and made rapid strides. She became the Principal of T. T. College in 1961-67. In 1967, she was promoted to Jt. Director Women's Education. She was the first woman of the State who became the Director of Education in 1971.[29] At present she is secretary to the Department of Tourism.

Woman along with man, from time immemorial, has formed an integral part of social structure. She always comes to his rescue whenever exigencies of the situation demand it. This is evident from gleaning through the rule of Kashmiri woman in the freedom struggle of Kashmir. They in spite of their seclusion for years together, had miraculously risen to respond to the call of freedom, at the cost of their lives and comforts of family. They smiled at the embrace of death.

## NOTES

1. Chinar is found only in Kashmir in the Indian Sub-continent.
2. Articles in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, 11-10-1897, vide Department of Home (Edu. A), Progs.—19-31 of July 1898 (Confidential).
3. Gadru, S.N., ed., *Kashmir Papers*, R.P. XVI, *Treaty of Amritsar*, Articles I, III and X ; Brinckman Arthur, *The wrongs of Cashmere*, pp 7, 8.
4. Hasrat, Bikram Jit, *Anglo-Sikh Relations*, p. 297.
5. *Indian Archives*, Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret E, May 1884, No. 354.
6. Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 222.
7. Handa, R.L. *History of the Freedom Struggle in Princely States*, p. 249.
8. Bamzai, P.N.K., *A History of Kashmir*, Metropolitan Book Company, Delhi, 1962, p. 185.
9. Bazaz, P.N., *op. cit.*, p. 245.
10. Korbel, Josef, *Danger in Kashmir*, pp. 16, 17.
11. Bazaz, P.N., *History of Struggle for freedom in Kashmir*, p. 138.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Handa, R.L., *op. cit.*, p. 250; Saraf, Mohammad Yusuf, "Kashmiri's Fight—For Freedom", Lahore, Pakistan, 1977, *Hindu daily Tribune*, dated 28th July, 1931.
14. Mujahid, Sadr-ud-Din, *Azan*, 13th July Number, July 1968; Masoodi, Maulana, *Azan*, July 1968.
15. Bazaz, P.N., *Daughters of the Vitasta*, pp. 246-47; *Inquilab*, July 25, 1931; *Ibid.*, August, 2, 1931.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Kashmir ki Jang-i-Azadi*, p. 5; *Our Path to Freedom and New Kashmir*, p. 65; Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, p. 196.
19. Bazaz, P.N., *Kashmir in Crucible*, p. 35 ; Singh, Sardar Budh, *Jagir Shahi Ka Post Mortem* ; pp. 79-82 ; Bakshi, G.M., *Kashmir Today*, pp 16, 17.
20. Observations of the Special Correspondent of the *Globe News Agency*, June 10, 1946.
21. Bazaz, P.N., *Daughters of the Vitasta*, pp. 247-248.
22. In Kashmiri language Kashmir is called *Kashir*.
23. Bazaz, P.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 262-64.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Directory of Indian Women Today*, 1976, p. 339.
26. Bazaz, P.N., *op. cit.*, p. 262.
27. *The Jammu and Kashmir Year Book*, 1972. Sec. III, p. 89.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

# 18

# *The Reflection of Freedom Struggle in Kashmiri Verse*

PROF. P.N. PUSHP

Before I take you along with me on an exploratory trip to the glade of Kashmiri verse, may I caution you against expecting any connected narrative of the struggle (beyond a few episodes here and there, or fragments of a saga now and then); for, poetry reflects life not as a documentation of facts but as a manifestation of ideas nurtured by vibrations of consciousness. Sometimes this reflection is too indirect to strike us all at once, while on occasions it is direct enough to attract our attention. The socio-economic or cultural milieu is, no doubt, there, without which no consciousness can become relevant to individual or social needs.

The exploratory trip of ours starts towards the close of the 18th century when the Pathan Governors had ferociously left the Kashmir peasantry penniless and forlorn by dint of callous exaction; and the poor peasant was forced by circumstances to run away from his land leaving it uncultivated. Such an agonising situation found its way into a folk-ballad popularly known as *Greesty-baay ta Maanchh-tulu'r*.

Thus the first reflection of freedom (as a socio-political value) in Kashmiri verse, as far as I have been able to notice, is in this very folk-ballad of the Honey Bee. The ballad carries the refrain:

Ba da'y chhasay maanchh-tulu'r venuk jaanaavaar.
(: I'm a honey bee, in deed, a woodland denizen).

The ballad, in fact, records an exchange of woes between the Honey Bee and the peasant woman. The Honey Bee confides her woe to the peasant woman as to the callous way in which the uncouth bear had forcibly taken away all her honey; while the oppressed peasant woman recounts the harrowing tale of how she was driven to the woods by the unrelenting tax-gatherers who had left not a grain of paddy with her for the family use.

Next we can across veiled reference to people's yearning for freedom in some narrative poems of the early 20th century, particularly in the Kashmiri versions of the *Shahnama* (of Firdausi) and the *Akbar-nama* (of Hamidullah Shahbadi) by Wahab Perey whose depiction of the beginning of the Dogra rule and the satirical camouflage of some bitter utterances is a clever device to project the socio-political contours of the age in spite of studied cautiousness of the poet. Almost during the same period we see Maqbool Kralawari caricaturing the peasantry as well as the revenue officials, the former for their defiant indifference to the priest, the latter for the awesome attention they received from the peasant despite the unscrupulous exaction to which they submitted. These, nevertheless, were unmistakable signs of an undefined stir in the stagnant state of affairs prevailing then.

Frankly speaking, freedom in Kashmiri verse dawned much later than in many other regional languages of India. The year 1857 which proved to be a turning point in Indian literature (particularly Bengali, Hindi and Urdu) did not leave any audible echoes in our language. Though the ruler of the State did make his humble contribution to the security of the imperial masters, the Kashmiris did not feel any revolution round the corner. What, however, agitated their minds was their own helplessness, the pathetic undertones of which are sometimes heard in popular verse-satire called *Ladde-shah*, often in the garb of limerick or lampoon.

Unfortunately very few poets after Wahab and Maqbool pursued the lines adopted by them. Of the few that did, Daya Ram Ganjoo concentrated mostly on the social reform of the women folk and, though he addressed mainly the little daughters

of his own community, his content does not recognise any barrier of caste or creed. It is, however, from Maqbool's *Greesty-Nama*, we glean quite a few facts of the socio-political set up of the age. The poor peasant was sucked dry by merciless exploiters, social, religious and political, and his moral values had suffered a terrible set back. In fact he had no liking for the official, nor any prejudice against the priest; for he dreaded and hated both. But, since the priest was no cog in the administrative wheel that controlled the economic forces, he failed to overawe the peasant in the name of religion which appeared to the peasant remoter than his bread. On the contrary, the revenue officials like the sazawal, the shakdar, the dom and their kith and kin were part and parcel of the scheme of exploitation.

Despite such a sorry state of affairs, the harassed people of the State do not seem to have smarted under the callous yoke of feudalism and it was not before the twenties of the present century that patriotic consciousness dawned for the first time in Kashmiri verse when Mahjoor complained of the Kashmiri's agelong apathy:

"The *bulbul* lives and dies for *flowers* alone,
the *bombur* (bee) for *vembarzal* (the narcissus);
the Kashmiri, deep-drunk, is self-absorbed."

As to the sad plight of the common folk, the poet found himself rather tongue-tied (a government servant as he was); yet he took his reader into confidence:

'I should have been outspoken;
but I fear the faultfinder is monitoring
a casual word that might fall from my lips...
I heartily would watch thy path
(but) they, I know not who, are closely espying my gaze;
I apprehend they are censoring even my point of view.'

Mahjoor's (Kashmiri) verse, nevertheless, admirably reflects the socio-political awakening of the people and their epic struggle for liberation from the feudal autocracy.

It was in 1931 that the vague urge for securing political reforms in Kashmir took a positive turn and developed into a

movement which in spite of its early slips into communal marshes, later on, became transformed into a national struggle. That was in 1938 when political conscious sections of Kashmir felt tempted to fight for freedom from the feudal yoke. A clash with the ruling authority became inevitable and Mahjoor also sang of revolutionary thought and action. He invited the Gardner to bring about the glory of a new spring; for, pointed out the poet:

"The garden is desolate, the dew is shedding tears;
Flowers with garments torn are ill at ease."

He, therefore, sang of the need to:

"Bring about an earthquake, kick up the wind,
Thunder aloud, let loose a flood."

He was quite optimistic about the future of his land; he, therefore, assured the struggling victims:

"Winter will flee and snow will melt away,
And again shall come the spring;
Mahjoor, out with thy sympony of love,
Flowers will bloom forth of their own;
Won't you be an apparent cause?"

"Bulbul, worry now no more,
Set right thy wings;
Henceforth will thy 'religion' alone be lived;
Thy lofty mountain-tops are all aglow with dawn,...
The flower-shrubs will suffer the autumn-wind;
Some day the spring will come and plead the cause;
He alone shall bloom who brave the misfortune."

When the failure of the Cripps Mission in 1942 was followed (four years later) by the 'Quit India' movement, the National Conference also prepared the people for the advent of freedom and evolved the New Kashmir Plan; and 1946 witnessed the most eventful stage of the struggle when the Quit Kashmir campaign was launched and the dawn of the New Kashmir

seemed to be fast approaching. This background to a new awakening is admirably mirrored by the Kashmiri poets of the period and Mahjoor was happily joined by a number of younger contemporaries like Azad, Arif, Fani and Aasi.

In fact the five years (from 1942 to 1946) were the most significant years of the development of New Kashmir verse. The socialistic outlook on life that characterises much of the writing of these years was not the forced result of any sort of indoctrination but the natural outcome of a congenial response to a new intellectual development in the country infiltrating into Kashmir mostly through Urdu poetry, particularly of Iqbal. Azad's '*Shikwa-a-Iblees*' clearly indicates this influence, yet his humanism, his immense faith in man cutting across all distinction of caste, community and creed, refused to be circumscribed by any sort of religious fanaticism or communal prejudice; and his whole poetry is, in fact, a mighty crusade not only against the social evils but also against all types of national fads. No wonder, therefore, that the denunciation of anti-social elements almost became an obsession with him. He had realized that:

"The temples, mosques and such other institutions
indulge in empty drum-beatings;
Their hearts are utterly devoid of love."

Therefore, he entreated the ever-vigorous cascade:

"Pray announce to all the Kashmiris
The secrets thou to Azad confidest,
Casting away all childish frivolities of Kufr and Deen;
The light from the candle is for all:
Hindoo and Musalman."

In fact, it was a sort of his poetic manifesto:

"To become free; to end tyranny
and to liquidate superstition—
This is my cherished dream,
this my ambition and this my clarion-call."

He affirms with pride that he owes allegiance to none but man:

"I have accepted the burden of ages on my head;
The angels and the heavens have shuddered at my doggedness;
I have chewed steel; I have braved fire;
I have sipped the blood of my own heart;
But this my head has not, till this day;
Bent low before anyone else but Thee."

Azad had known abject poverty both at home and around him. He had lost faith in everybody; even in God (who too would not be moved by any empty handed entreaty) and so he longed for revolution. Revolution actually came in 1947, but Azad passed away soon after in 1948. Had he lived a few years more, his poetry would have become richer in content and finer in form. But even as it is, its values inspire New Kashmir and leave an unforgettable ring in our ears:

"I corrode away the heart of hills—
Such is the power of my flow:
I bathe the (tender) bodies of the sweet—
Such is the softness of my ways
My curves and turns are full of burning love;
I get the music of longing in travel and wandering.
Amidst the flowers and the birds,
I play upon the sweet Santoor
Amongst the rocks—the stone-hearted
I beat the drum of upheaval
When I witness these ups and downs;
These banks and dykes I lose temper;
I seek oneness and equality;
for that I run and foam and fret.

Thus was it that the finer breath of freedom revitalised Kashmiri verse and three open ample opportunities not only to the younger talent like Fani, Aasi and Arif, but also to old mystics like Masterji. Fani voiced the woes of the toiling peasants and labourers while Arif sang the saga of "Quit Kashmir", and Masterji dreamed of being ferried across the river of time into a better, happier and lovelier world where domestic, communal, national and international life is harmoniously integrated.

Such was the poetic climate created by the "New Kashmir" idea, when in 1947, the Raiders:

"The man-eating wild vultures
Over-ran our land." (Mahjoor)

This historical moment in Kashmir's struggle for independence inspired Arif to sing the saga of the National Movement. The immortal poem "Magar Kaarvaan Soan..." which presents in marching cadences befitting the theme, a pageant of Kashmir's struggle for freedom right from 1931 upsurge to the ushering in of the New Kashmir, warmed a million hearts and echoed from one corner of the Valley to the other. During these unforgettable days of national rejuvenation, the autumn of 1947 thus not only proved a turning point in the political life of Kashmir, but also revitalized all that was noble in the country's literary and artistic traditions, and gave a fillip to new trends struggling for free expression. Nadim was one of the foremost organisers of this new cultural movement and during the raids he wrote a number of inspiring songs and poems in chaste and simple Kashmiri and the avalanche of people's resistance against the raiders gained in momentum. A million hearts beat in unison with his, when Nadim announced:

"I have to fight, on fronts and frontiers;
on paths and highways, on rocks and clods—
I have to fight; I am the nation's soldier,
I have to save my land—My youth is fresh and ever fresh."

Besides writing lovely lullabies harping on the tune of freedom, he utilized the folk technique in writing a few labour-chants too. One of these addressed to Shahe-Hamdan is a fine piece of poignant irony. It runs:

"O Shahe Hamdan, O Shahe Hamdan
Are we human ?
Who says we are ?
Winter, imminent
Pockets, empty
Cottage, roofless

That too may be
Confiscated
O Shahe Hamdan, O Shahe Hamdan."

Nadim's 'Vaavan Vonnam' (The Wind Reported to Me) is a strong condemnation of all those reactionaries who were in one way or other trying to exploit the Kashmir issue to their own advantage. Having come 'from over the hills and the rocks across the fields and the lakes' and having chatted with the mounts and the woods throughout the length and the breadth of Kashmir, the Wind recounts her impression of the people resistance to all outside interference. Reports the Wind:

"I have witnessed the eyes of the Rose red with indignation;
Revolution has infused quite a new vigour into the rills;
The turf I found vying with flowers in zest—
I sensed a new determination in the ever running cascade;
I saw the cypress take a rock-firm stand,
and blades of grass were rising to their feet."

And, summing up, the Wind emphasizes:

'One was the slogan of the flowers:
Kashmir is ours:
and Kashmir's bright future is verily ours.'

Nadim's warning to the warmonger, is, therefore, neither idle gossip nor cheap sentimentalism; it is the people's impassioned protest against the inhuman machinations of the enemies of peace. One can hear the sincere ring of anguish in every syllable of the following lines:

'I will not sing today...
any sonorous, sweet and soothing song
of the flower or the nightingale
of the cascade or the tulip-lawn
nor any verdant song of dew... .

For, today, for today
the venomous breath of autumn

chases the vernal breeze away
and man is seen preparing fast
to prey on man again....

Therefore will I set out today, set out today
I'll pave the way
I'll level the bars and barriers away
I'll face the foe, the highwayman; and cry hands-off to him.
Equipped with hammer, sickle and pen and firm resolve
I'll move about from place to place from post to post,
Undaunted will I thwart all mischief and mishap
with hammer, sickle and pen.'

Happily Nadim was in a very gratifying company: Roshan, Rahi, Kamil, Mahjoor and Premi were all rising to the occasion. Almost, Fazil and Ambadar, who had already been in the field for over two decades, also were attracted by new themes in consonance with the new awareness. New stars like Azim, Kundan, Chaman, Bekas and Reh appeared on the literary horizon. All these raised their voice against economic exploitation and administrative bungling that rendered the newly-won freedom an empty boast.

Even the optimistic Mahjoor was perplexed and his impatience reflected the bewildered people's reaction too. In the earlier stages he couched it in guarded metaphor, as in his '*Laalo Laalo, haa guli-laalo*', which is replete with feeling of disgust and saturated with a sense of indignation at administrative gap between profession and performance. The poet's tone, however, became bolder in assertion, with poems like *Aazaa'dee* particularly in his caricature of the newly-won freedom as a forbidden beauty:

'This Dame Freedom is a heavenly nymph,
should she, then, move from door to door ?
Nay, she dallies forth in a house or two quite selectively.
People's houses are engulfed in grief,
(while) rulers bridegroom-like
Engage this Dame Freedom in amorous privacy.'

This was, no doubt, the boldest voice we could hear in

Kashmiri verse of the late forties, and it continues to serve as a permanent reminder of eternal vigilance, 'the price of liberty', and the guiding light of 'New Kashmir'.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY


1. HATIM'S TALES — Compiled by Aurel Stein, and edited by G.A. Grierson, London.
2. POETRY OF MAQBOOL KRALAWARI — P.N. Pushp, *Kashmir*, p. 217, Delhi.
3. POETRY OF MAHJOOR — P.N. Pushp, *Kashmir*, Delhi.
4. POETRY OF AZAD — P.N. Pushp, *Kashmir*, Delhi.
5. POETRY OF AASI — P.N. Pushp, *Kashmir*, Delhi.
6. POETRY OF ARIF — P.N. Pushp, *Kashmir*, Delhi.
7. POETRY OF NADIM — P.N. Pushp, *Kashmir*, Delhi.
8. STUDIES IN KASHMIRI — Prof. J.L. Kaul, Srinagar.
9. ANTHOLOGY OF KASHMIRI POETRY — Prof. T.N. Raina, Poona.

# 19

# *Freedom Struggle of Jammu and Kashmir State as seen in Folklore*

SOMNATH DHAR

The folklore of Kashmir has an important place in the "literature of people" of India. The classic *Katha-Sarita-Sagar* by Somadeva of Kashmir became the source of material of folk-tales in most Indian languages; the stories later travelled to western countries. The anonymous authors of the *Thousand and One Nights* found inspiration in the multiplicity of episodes in these tales.

Somadeva's voluminous collection of stories was categorised as folklore even though it was written down, and translated by many hands. Folklore as a whole is not merely literature that is transmitted orally. It may appear in print but it must not freeze into print.

Much of the folklore of Kashmir in the present century is connected one way or the other with the freedom struggle. The stories of folk heroes, particularly martyrs who fell in the struggle, have entered the romantic field of folklore. The folklore songs—the living monuments of Kashmir's poetic glory —whether reduced to print or not, mostly surround the charismatic personality of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who has become a vertible legend in his lifetime.

Ruraliterant ministrels (*Dahra-vols*), playing a *Dahra* (an iron rod with loose rings on it), recite these songs, whether couplets

or quatrains. Peasants, sowing or harvesting paddy, boatman at the oars, gardeners and craftsmen at their occupations, having picked up the folk-songs from the *Dahra-vols*, sing them. Their arms interlinked round each other's waist, women heaving forward and backward in the *Ruph* dance, sing these songs. Or, they may sing the favourite lines as part of Vanvun songs, i.e., songs connected with marriages and other festivities. A couplet from such a folk-song that goes back to 1931, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, first emerged as the leader of the downtrodden Kashmiris, reads:

We are oppressed,
We want our Shah Sultan,
Our own glorious Sultan.

The background to the description of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the Sultan was that in popular imagination "the first Kashmiri Muslim, who had passed the M.Sc. examination from the Aligarh University", was "soon to become the Sultan of Kashmir". The present writer recalls his school days (at the State High School, Dilawar Khan Bagh, Srinagar), where Sheikh Abdullah started his service as the science teacher) when he saw a colour picture of Sheikh Abdullah, dressed up as a Turkish Sultan, in a military uniform. By that time, Sheikh Abdullah had resigned from his teacher's job and had joined the Muslim Conference already started by Saifuddin Shawl, Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah, Maulvi Abdullah and others, to carry on the struggle of Kashmiris for freedom from the feudal yoke. Roundabout the same time, the Ahrars from the Punjab, an extremist para-military group led an infructuous expedition to Kashmir. Their battle-cry (original in Urdu) was:

Arise, arise, youngmen,
March towards Kashmir,
To end the heathen Dogra rule.

When the popularity of Sheikh Abdullah increased in the later thirties, so many songs were anonymously composed about him, eulogising his origin from Soura (a village 10 Kms. from Srinagar). By this time, he was described by the honorofic,

Sher-i-Kashmir—Lion of Kashmir—the appellation has stayed with him since. Begum Abdullah has been given the honorofic "Madar-i-Millat" (revered mother of the country). A song sung with Ruph dances, ran:

The hero of Soura,
I adore you,
You are our Leader,
The hero of Soura.

Or:

Lion Abdullah, my lion,
I sacrifice myself for thee;
I felicitate Sher-i-Kashmir,
I touch the apron of Dastgir,
Soura threw up the jewel,
And Zainigir (canal) got the water.

In many such songs, the epithets are substituted by words, Kashmiri or Urdu, conveying praise of Sher-i-Kashmir, or the blessings received by the people through him, and the Ruph recitation and the body movements go on; or, the Vanvun goes on. A popular variant to the first line was: "The earring of Soura"—the earring being a woman's loved ornament.

There were detractors too of Sheikh Abdullah and his lieutenants, and what they stood for. The party of the Muslim Conference stalwart, Mir Waiz Maulvi Yusuf, was called "Bakras" (goats) for he had a goatee beard, by the National Conference followers. The Mir Waiz people retaliated by calling the National Conferencites "Gada Kala" (fish head), the reference being to Sheikh Abdullah's home village, Soura, situated on the bank of Achar lake. A number of songs, mostly of the doggerel variety, derogatory to each other's party, were sung during marches. These were of an ephemeral nature and are no more heard of.

The present writer recalls an occasion when the Maharaja's police nabbed Mir Waiz Maulvi Yusuf in the small hours, at Srinagar. In no time, his followers blocked traffic at Ali Kadal, reciting the imprompto verses:

"Shah Yusuf was arrested at the hour of dawn,
We will sacrifice our lives for him."

His name, Yusuf Shah, was inverted deliberately so as to sound a Sultan's name. After the Pakistani raid, the Mir went to Pakistan (The present writer met him in Karachi in 1963, a faded replica of what he had been in his heyday in Kashmir. He passed away soon after in Pakistan occupied Kashmir).

The Kashmiri has a genius for giving names, thus creating surnames out of nicknames. When in 1931-32, Sheikh Abdullah was lionised as 'Sher-i-Kashmir', the Kashmiri Pandits—who were agitating for their rights under the leadership of Shri Prem Nath Bazaz, Kashyap Bandhu and Jia Lal Kilam—called Kilam 'Sher-i-Babar," that is, the "big lion". Verses, mostly in Urdu, were composed impromptu, when the Pandits launched what was called the "Bread Agitation" against the regime of Maharaja Hari Singh. A couplet, hard to beat for exaggeration anywhere else in India, ran:

How dare you imprison Sher-e-Babar Kilam ?
England, Japan, Russia and Germany tremble at the very mention of his name !

Pretty bad language was used against the Maharaja in Urdu verses, which have since gone into oblivion. For his part, as the accredited representative of the Kashmiri Pandit community on the Glancy Commission set up by the Maharaja, Prem Nath Bazaz was variously praised and blamed, the language going into hyperboles in either case.

Equally hyperbolic was the language used by the masses in praise and dispraise of Jawaharlal Nehru, according as they were happy with his Kashmir connection before and after Pakistani raid, and when, in 1953, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was imprisoned and replaced by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad.

During the time when Shiekh Abdullah was in prison, and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was the Chief Minister, the latter was called "Bati Bab" (Provider of Food), "Khalid Kashmir" (Servant of Kashmir), but much folklore did not ensue about him or Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, who succeeded him. On the contrary, despite the munificences associated with his regime,

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was referred to as "son of a midwife who swallowed Kashmir" in folk/verse, obviously derogatory to him. And, when Sheikh Abdullah came out of the prison, back to the Valley, unprecedented crowds greeted him everywhere, the people spontaneously singing:

"Shah Sultan has come,
Our redeemer is back."

This time the word "Sultan" was used out of old habit, minus political connotation, but what mattered was the continuance of the Sher-i-Kashmir legend, which, happily, is still a folkloric phenomenon of the Kashmir valley and its environs. While Sheikh Sahib, continuing his long innings, still dominate the political scene of the State. Hero-worship could not rise to greater heights than the folk tribute:

Bismillah is a great word,
So is Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

On the least pretext, the people will sing:

Who has changed our destiny?
Quaid-i-Azam Sher Kashmir.

That elongated appellation takes the story back to the thirties and forties, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, banking on the cultural traditions of Kashmir, had seen to it that the political struggle remained non-communal from almost the start of the freedom struggle. He had resisted the inveiglements of the other Quaid (M.A. Jinnah) to join the fold of the Muslim League. The poets of the people produced songs to enthuse the people, so they carry on the struggle. Though these songs were written by the poets—Nadim, Mahjoor, Aasi, Arif and others—these were passed on by word of mouth to the villages, where these became so many accretions to the folklore, treasured by illiterate masses. These songs—excerpts from the poets will follow—have the essential attributes of folk literature, being "essentially of the people, by the people and for the people", and, as such, are hardly to be distinguished from the products and repositories of

oral tradition.

Going back in point of time, there was a period in the freedom struggle of Kashmir when a writer or poet could only indirectly refer to the people's urge for emancipation. Not unoften, the poet rather than identify himself too closely with the people's movement against the Maharaja's autocratic regime, would crusade against the forces that stifled the society. Hence, Dina Nath Nadim sang:

Warm and red, and red and warm,
And warm and red is the blood of mine.
Young am I and storm-like is my zest,
I'll live for my Kashmir and die for it.
Should I surge-like disport myself,
I'll become the flood, and wash away,
The foe—the fatal foe.
Therefore, therefore indeed—
Warm and red and red and warm,
And warm and red is the blood of mine.

As the people's movement became more popular, the poets, known and unknown, expressed themselves in its favour. Voicing the indomitable spirit of the youth, who would live and die for "my Kashmir", Nadim, the people's poet *par excellence* (a position he retains even today) could foretell a time when there wouldn't be slaves any more:

The dumb shall burst into speech,
Blunted desires shall become effective.
The shackles of slaves shall fall to pieces,
Labour shall attain to dignity,
And workers' fates shall shine the brighter.

Realising that political freedom was essential for the edifice of 'New Kashmir' to come up, Nadim supported the radical land-to-the-tiller agrarian reforms that had been announced as far back as the early forties in the political manifesto entitled "New Kashmir". His description of the peasant of the time could rival the versification of the pre-French Revolution period:

Who is wrapped in rags,
Whose stomach is empty;
Whose skin is tanned;
Whose nails are worn out;
Whose hands are sucked dry by the field insects;
Whose legs have developed a wrinkled crest;
Whose lips are tainted with woeful sighs;
Whose children are suffering the pangs of hunger.

The emancipation of the peasants from the stranglehold of the erstwhile exploiters came via the freedom struggle and it was a happier Nadim that addressed them:

Having snapped the chains of
Jagirdars, wad-dars, and moneylenders,
Reclaim thou thy Mother Earth
Resuscitate and adorn her,
Removing the frowning furrows from her brow,
The wrinkles from her face,
And the cataract from her eyes.

The Pakistani raid in 1947 was a watershed in the freedom struggle of Kashmir. It proved not only a turning point in the political life of the Kashmiris, binding in the result their destiny irrevocably with that of India, but produced a cultural effervescence that was unprecedented in the history of the country. Poets who had expressed themselves in Urdu earlier like Dina Nath Nadim came out in chaste and simple Kashmiri verse--the lingua of the folk. These poems sung and recited to thousands throughout the Valley instantly became folklore of the period, linked inextricably with the struggle for freedom, which had entered its last but decisive stage with the incursion from across Pakistan. Nadim exhorted the Kashmiri youth to counter the enemy's challenge:

Thou art the fire,
Thou are a burning pyre,
Thou art a conflagration:
And if thou are the Vernal wind,
Why lurk inside the cloud ?

Emerge out of hills and the woods,
And raise a storm...
A furious storm !
Become thou the leader of the ranks,
And defender of Kashmir !

It was a people's struggle for freedom—to obliterate all bonds of slavery, political as well as economic. In typical, folklore tradition, Nadim's patriotic verses such as the following reverberated across the land:

I have to fight,
On fronts and frontiers
In ditches and dugouts
On paths and highways
On rocks and clods.
I have to fight
I am the nation's soldier
I have to save my land.
My youth is fresh
My youth is fresh
I have to fight

The song went on, with refrains typical of folklore and foretelling a time when aggression would be a thing of the past and there would be no more any distinction of high and low. Nadim visualised:

Quite a new world
Quite a new man...
And quite a new age.

Even a mystic poet like Zinda Kaul, who was more concerned with Truth and transcendental eternity, had discerned a serious malady in the very fabric of society:

The son of man has become degraded into a servant destitute,
Ill-clad, unclean, uneducated.
He tires his limbs with unskilled labour on rich men's edifices;
He carries loads like a donkey (without knowing what and why !).

Master Zinda Kaul, as he was popularly called, was more concerned with exposure of religious hypocrisy (the wiles of priests) than with the dialectics of socio-economic realities. He was not involved in the freedom struggle like his distinguished contemporary, Mahjoor, but in 1941 (by that time the movement in the State, led by the National Conference was well coordinated with the All India States People's Conference), he voiced the anguish of Kashmiris at a public meeting, in a poem entitled, "A Nation's Plaint":

Our mother country has become to us
Like a foreign land, because of our disunity.
Autumn has come upon the garden
Where we have our nests...
A terrible storm (of poverty) has thrown us
Away like autumn leaves off the trees
And other birds have usurped
Our seats on the various branches.

A people's poet in every sense of the term, Abdus Sattar Aas was a milkman by birth and profession, who managed to find time to educate himself and for versification (first in Persian and then in Kashmiri), in spite of his hardy calling. Living amidst workers' and peasants, Aasi had a keen consciousness of their socio-political problems. To him, freedom for the labouring class signified in the first instance, emancipation from the exploiters and he gave vent to his pained feelings:

O labourer, the rich have ever
Conspired against and fleeced thee;
Didst thou ever have a fullsome
Humble meal at night,
Ever after overexerting
Thyself for the whole day ?
Thyself thou wert ever woe-begone,
And yet thou filledst the
Houses of others with wealth;
Didst thou ever get rid of their grip ?

Well aware of the involvement of the labouring folks in the

struggle for freedom, Aasi sounded the clarion call to them:

Remedy thy ills thyself
Behold how serious to thy state !
'Tis high time that thou takest a decision,
For, art thou not a fading rose ?

Characterising the culmination of the freedom struggle as "revolution", Aasi saw its inevitability as well as the glorious outcome:

The call of revolution will chase
The tyrants away like jackals.
Sure enough, the rubies will appear
When the rocks are crushed to dust.

Identifying himself completely with the "Quit Kashmir" movement (which was a significant art of the freedom struggle of Kashmir), Aasi sang in praise of the *Hal* (sickle), flag of the National Conference which symbolised freedom to him:

Looking hopefully at it, the lame
And feeble labourers live through
Their moments of worry,
While the rich masters are afraid of it.

A gentleman to the last, Aasi served a warning to the capitalist—exploiters (who were in league with the political masters) to quit the scene while the going was safe:

O capitalist, seek now somewhere a refuge,
Lest, otherwise, afterwards thou shouldst lose thy wits
When thou readest the
Command of the Kashmiris.

Freedom was gained but the *Hal* flag and the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State were endangered by the attacks from the tribal hordes in the autumn of 1947. Aasi urged the patriotic youth to defend the motherland:

Pray, youngman ! up, up with thee;
Set right the nation's shaky flag !
Beware, lest the cunning take thee in;
Yield not, be firm,
The future beckons to thee !
See that thou dost not
Put to shame my blood;
Beware the wolf is out
To pounce on thee.

The present writer who was associated with the National Cultural Front, set up after the tribal incursion into the Valley, recalls the good, zestful work that Abdus Sattar Aasi did for the Front. His songs, like this one, caught the imagination of people and created heroes out of them:

Haven's they laid waste our land
In the name of Pakistan ?
Pattan and Baramulla are
Razed to the ground;
And should we still connive at it ?

Aasi saw the raiders thrown out. The State settled down to the work of reconstruction and some of Aasi's dreams of "New Kashmir" were fulfilled in his lifetime. (He died on January 12, 1950—much earlier than Master Zinda Kaul, who died in 1965).

Ghulam Ahmed Mahjoor (1885-1952) was the greatest Kashmiri poet of the century. The uncrowned "Poet Laureate", so as to say, one whose poetry, had inspired generations of men for the best part of four decades. Like Nadim, Mahjoor started his compositions in Urdu, but he concentrated on Kashmiri, his mother tongue, later, not only eulogising the natural beauties of the "Happy Valley", but awakening the compatriots from the slumber of unhappiness, into which they had sunk through the centuries. Much earlier than other bards, he sang:

The *Bulbul* hankers after flowers,
The *Bambur* (bee) after the narcissuses,
(But) the Kashmiri is deep drunk.

More than many other poets, the Kashmiri songs of Mahjoor have become part and parcel of the folklore of Kashmir—the secret being that he used the simple diction of the folk. When he recited his poem *Bagh-i-Nishat Ke Gulo* ("The flower of Nishat Bagh") at an all-India Mushaira (musical symposium) in Srinagar, the song became instantly popular throughout the length and breadth of the Valley. Poem after poem flowed from his prolific pen and the appreciations that came from many quarters included the one from Rabindranath Tagore, who was impressed by Mahjoor's lyrical poem, "The Farmer Girl"—brought to his notice by the folkorist, Devendra Satyarthi. Tagore fittingly called Mahjoor the "Wordsworth of Kashmir".

The "Wordsworth of Kashmir" had since emerged from the "Gul Bulbul" (flower and the bulbul) phase to take an active interest in social and political affairs. His poetry increasingly epitomised the struggle of Kashmiris for self-government. To start with, he was repressed by the dead weight of tradition, for in those feudal days (comparable to the pregnant time before the Russian Revolution), even the thoughts of poets and intellectuals were spied on.

Though tongue-tied, the poet still spoke out (in words that will live long in the folklore of the Kashmiris' struggle for freedom) thus:

I should have been outspoken but for the fact,
That the fault-finder is ready,
To jump at any words (from my lips),
I fain would closely watch thy path,
But they, I know not who, are keeping a strict eye over my gaze,
(Albeit), I am told they are going to
Invigilate over the opinion 'lurking' in my mind.

His language approximated more to the point as the freedom struggle progressed under the aegis of the National Conference led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. He felt the time was getting ripe when the *Bulbuls* should break open the cage, and queried:

Who will ever set thee free O *bulbul*?
Thee that art bemoaning (thyself) in thy cage.

Mahjoor ranked the greatest—and most popular—among the poets of the period of the freedom struggle. In the course of a poem, "New Kashmir", he put across the message of the fight explicitly in 1944:

Yesterday's story still frightened me,
Unsure, when my garden would be rid of oppression.
Who would give me the message of freedom ?
But now the time will come
When your mountains will yield jewels
Your mountain peaks will change into gold.

The struggle of the masses for freedom continued. Their favourite poet blessed the struggle and consoled them in these words:

The dreary wastes shall no more lie desolate,
A new world shall settle therein,
The desert shall change into a flower garden...
The thorny poisonous bush (*Arakhal*) shall get a graft of the pine;
The willow shall get the durability of the sandal-wood,
The hills shall give birth to precious stones... .

To usher the new era of Kashmir, described as "New Kashmir" in the political manifesto of the National Conference, Mahjoor sounded the call to arms:

If thou shouldst awaken the habit of flowers
Away with the Zir-O-bam—the musical instruments;
Bring about an earthquake; raise a storm;
Thunder aloud (and) let loose a flood.

Though he was convinced by this time (mid forties) that political freedom had to be wrested by force, Mahjoor counselled his compatriots to keep their cool in the thick of the struggle:

Even in fervour keep thy wits about three,
(for) fervour without alertness is hard to put up with.

In the words of Prof. P.N. Pushp, "While urging the Kashmiris on to action for a glorious future, Mahjoor reminded them of their admirable past too. Among others he reminded them of the mighty conquerors like Lalitaditya, brave generals like Tazi Bhatta and Zaya (Ram) Bhan, wise counsellors like Nand Ram and gifted poets like Chani, all of whom brought credit to the land of their birth."

Mahjoor's anormous output envinced his wide knowledge and catholicity. Throughout his long career, he was conscious of the universal brotherhood of man which has been a distinguishing feature of Kashmir's cultural heritage. Hence, he reiterated the postulate of inter-communal harmony—the corner-stone of Kashmir's freedom struggle—for under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the secularisation of politics had become a consistent fact when the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was rechristened National Conference in June, 1939. What Mahjoor penned about Hindu-Muslim unity found a ready response among the Kashmiris:

Who is the friend and who the foe of your (native) land?
Let you among yourselves thoughtfully make out.
The kind and stock of all Kashmiris is one;
Let you mix milk and sugar once again.
Hindus will keep the helm and Muslims ply the oars;
Let you together row (ashore) the boat of this land.

When freedom came at last, Mahjoor hailed it in apt words and figure becoming the great poet of the people:

Thou wert warbling (notes) inside the cage...
There was the stammer of slavery in thy voice;
Forget those old tales now; sing fresh strains;
Congratulate the flowers and disport (thyself) in the garden.

Hardly had the Kashmiris started anticipating freedom, when Pakistani tribals attacked Kashmir, Mahjoor was shocked at the atrocities committed by the invaders:

The man-eating wild vultures (of the hilly tracts) pounced upon our land,
And (in a trice) they killed innocent creatures without number.

The struggle for freedom of the State had entered a new, critical phase, which gave rise to martyrs like Mir Maqbool Sherwani. Mahjoor thus interpreted Sherwani's last message:

As long as the Lion[1] (of Kashmir) is thy guardian,
Thou needst not worry at all;
Neither the Wazir[2] can kill thee;
Nor can the Hazari[3] face thee.

When the freedom fighters, aided by the Indian forces, repelled the invader, Mahjoor gave vent to the joy of the peasant:

The period of tyranny and exploitation is over;
*Wad-dars* and *chakh-dars* have lost their lands,
We have just now got this happy news.

A junior contemporary of Mahjoor, Abdul Ahad, was a crusader against communalism and fanaticism. That was his contribution to the freedom struggle, though (d. 4-4-1948) he did not live long enough to taste the fruit of the revolution, the subject of so many of his poems. Azad felt that:

The temples, mosques and such other institutions
Indulge in empty drum-beatings;
Their hearts are utterly devoid of love.

He derided "the cunning cheats" of religion and "misguided devotes" whom "superstition held in firm grip". Instead, in his poems, he exhorted the people to live and die for their country:

The love of his country has captured Azad,
And he has given up all other hankerings;
The *masvals* (pretty flowers) of the garden,
Are waiting with cups in hand—
Will he not come again this way ?

1. The Lion stands for Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, popularly known as Sher-i-Kashmir (Lion of Kashmir).
2. A tribe of North-West Pakistan.
3. Another tribe of North-West Pakistan. Other tribes that invaded the State were Mahsuds, Afridis, Swathu, etc. along with the soldiers of the Pakistani army on leave.

A poet, who is fortunately still with us, and whose long span of popular versification covers the entire range of the freedom struggle right up to the attainment of freedom and the denouement of raid from Pakistan, and the events since, is Mirza Ghulam Hassan Beg. A scientist-turned poet, Mirza Beg, as is better known, sensitively reacted to the socio-economic and political realities right from the forties. Hardly satisfied with the appointment of commissions or shouting of slogans, Arif called for a desperate solution:

Will the *Zindabads* and commissions avail us aught ?
Can ever the wounds be darned with slender untwisted threads ?
Unless the surgeon's knife goes deep to the roots of the septic boil,
Can the nation's cancer be cured by commissions alone ?

A year after Arif wrote these lines came the historic "Quit Kashmir" movement in 1946, which inspired him to advocate total revolution—more directly than Mahjoor or Nadim had done:

Can patience shield off oppression ?
Gird up the loins for revenge;
To end tyranny is a noble deed...
Should some one else enjoy thy right ?
And should'st thou blame thy fate alone ?
Shoudst thou submit to injustice ?
Bring about, bring about a revolution.

In 1947, when the raiders threatened the freedom of Kashmiris, the people sang Arif's inspiring song 'Our Caravan', which had a marching rhythm:

Ourselves shall we set up a nation free;
Ourselves shall we refashion the nation's fate !
Our hearts have cherished the dreams of Democracy !
We have to turn Kashmir into a real paradise;
We have to wash away the blot of servility;
We have to send our foe into the deep slumber of death;

Lo, there appears the sun of truth;
And the ghost of falsehood melts away !

A poet like Arif committed to the freedom of Kashmir was inspired to see the people—men, women and children—rise as one man to defend the lovely Valley. When the Eve of Kashmir, fabulous for her beauty, foresook the comfort and security of the home to swell the ranks of Zooni Brigade (named after a heroine of the resistance movement), Mirza Arif sang the war song for her:

I shall march forth with a machine-gun in hand,
I shall not let the raiders encroach on my garden;
I shall paint my nails with the blood of those that covet me,
Long live the Revolution, hail hail the Revolution !

Mirza Arif composed another stirring song, which encapsuled the 'message' from the grave, sent by Mir Maqbool Sherwani, who became a martyr, at the hands of the raiders, at Baramulla. Disseminated in the grave hour of Kashmir's emergency, the 'message' spelt out Kashmir's destiny as the fount and guarantor of secularism in India:

Sacrifice nurtures the seeds of life;
Never shall we submit to foreign domination;
Never shall be tolerate bestiality—
Kashmir will shine as India's crown;
With it lies the remedy of India's ills;
It shall bring India back to normalcy !

Mahatma Gandhi was interested in the Jammu and Kashmir State—the people, their leaders and their struggle against autocracy—in his own way, though it was his political lieutenant, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was more intimately connected with the State's affairs, *via* the All India State People's Conference and the Indian National Congress. Like so many other poets of Kashmir, Mirza Arif was influenced by Gandhiji's charisma and humanism—the more so when Gandhiji visited Srinagar in the early summer of 1947, where, *inter alia*, the Father of the Nation said prophetically, "My sole hope and prayer is that

Kashmir should become a beaconlight to the benumbed sub-continent". When Gandhiji fell to the assassin's bullet, Arif wrote a touching elegy that has passed into the folklore of Kashmir along with his compositions directly dealing with the freedom struggle:

Who has torn the flower to pieces ?
Who was it that lay in ambush
    like the fire of jealousy ?
The nightingales have wept
    their hearts out, today;
The sky is rent asunder;
The Orioles have smeared their forms with dust—
Where has my darling gone, unseen ?

We thus conclude this review of the freedom struggle of the Jammu and Kashmir State, as seen in folklore, with the poet who covered the entire gamut of the historic period, from the Dogra monarchy to the fruition of "New Kashmir" in greater detail than any other living Kashmiri poet.

# 20

# *Summation*

Dr. (Mrs.) D. DEVAHUTI

The Seminar opened with the Co-ordinator's pleas for the collection, preservation and classification of source materials. It was stressed that a descriptive catalogue of the materials was the primary requirement of the researcher and attention should immediately be devoted to its preparation. The work of editing the manuscripts should be taken in hand to be followed by their publication.

The keynote paper addressed itself to the important problems in the study of the freedom struggle directed simultaneously against the old Order and Colonial Rule.

Some papers in the seminar specifically dealt with the problems; in the case of others a treatment of the various aspects or phases of the struggle invariably highlighted certain complexities in the hour. In addition to the difficulties in the matter of information emerged both at the conceptual and the methodological levels. It was felt that attention to them would lead to a better understanding of the various dimensions and the complex phenomena involved in the study of the movement.

The issues that figured more prominently in the discussion and those that were suggested by implication may be listed as follows:

(1) The significance of the Geo-physical factors and the special characteristics of Kashmiri culture as a result.

(2) The historical reasons for the Kashmiri regional ethos and aspirations.

(3) The criteria for fixing the lower and the upper limits, in time, of the freedom struggle. Thus, should it be traced back to the Mughal period (if not to even earlier times) or to the beginning of Sikh rule, or Dogra rule.

(4) The problems encountered by the movement in reconciling the regional and the democratic urges.

Why, at certain stages, did a section of Muslims and the Ulema support the Maharaja and *vice versa*; why did the Hindus favour autonomy when faced with the choice of accession ?

(5) The Valley vs. Jammu. The regional, cultural and linguistic tensions. The special problems and approach of the people of Jammu with regard to the freedom struggle not fully appreciated and dealt with.

(6) The problems of discrimination and co-relation of factors such as those arising from singling out the immediate cause of protest from the long-range, deep-rooted causes of unrest. The need to examine the service and disservice rendered to the freedom movement (and to its historiography) by the form of expression of protest as, say, on 13th July, 1931.

(7) The inability to see various determinants—religion, class, caste etc. cutting across each other. Writings on the subject have not, for e.g., highlighted that there was, for a while, a coalescing of interests of the Muslim and the Hindu middle classes in Kashmir and that Muslim leadership, like its counterpart on the rest of the sub-continent, failed to utilize this factor in the cause of the movement.

(8) The causes and extent of the secular character of the movement in both Jammu and Kashmir.

(9) Historical alternatives. Did the upsurge sometimes use the religious medium owing to the absence of a political philosophy ? Our criticism or censure of this medium is also conditioned by our being so accustomed to the use of political ideologies in giving direction to

movements of different types.

(10) The inhibiting and liberating aspects of religions motivation. When the former transform themselves into communalism a historical evaluation of the latter suffers.

(11) The influence of outside forces whether those with international inspiration such as the Wahabi, or the national ones from British India thus the Indian National Congress, or those from adjacent provinces thus the Panjab. The positive and negative aspects of such influences.

(12) Where such inquiry is warranted the need for a comparative study of the princely states on the theme of relations between the princes and their subjects on the one hand and the princes and the government of India on the other. The analogy was occasionally drawn between Kashmir and Hyderabad.

(13) The Aligarh movement and Kashmir politics. The influence exerted through Aligarh-educated Muslims. The impact of the Deoband school, if any, was not examined.

(14) The extent of the rural character of the movement. A comparative study of the rural and urban elements.

(15) The role of socio-religious movements in the freedom struggle.

(16) The importance of folklore and oral tradition.

(17) The creative literature on the theme and the purpose served by it.

(18) The urgent need to interview those who took part in the movement and to assess the information historically.

(19) The role of individuals and the importance of biographical studies.

(20) Women's participation in the struggle. Their importance for the movement in terms of:

(a) the inspiration provided by acts of courage by the so-called weaker sex to which people were not accustomed,

(b) their numbers in meetings and processions etc.,

(c) as home-makers—moulders of children's character, and moral supporetrs of husbands, and finally,

(d) as leaders, although with a very limited leadership role.

(21) The part played by the minorities, the Dogras of Jammu, the Kashmiri Pandits and others. Resilience and an enlightened outlook were pointed out as qualities of the Pandits. Their educational equipment resulting in gains, intellectual and economic, on the one hand won them admiration, on the other aroused jeolousy and hard feelings. The Seminar, however, was deficient in its coverage of the role of Sikhs, not was any reference made to the reaction of Christians. The position of a very important religious component of the state, the Buddhists of Ladakh was completely neglected. Gujars, Bakarwals, Harijans and others also did not figure in the discussion.

(22) The political implications of the Shawl trade. European interest in the problem. The Shia *karhana-dars* and the Sunni weavers. The causes and significance of the weavers revolt and their contribution to the freedom struggle.

(23) The variety of sources. The drawbacks of dispersal and the need to assemble them as far as possible.

(24) Request for funds and facilities for the purpose of advancing historical research for the study of the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir.

# *Bibliography*


Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr. by Jarret
*Akbar-nama*, Eng. Tr. by Beveride

Anon., *Baharistan-i-Shahi.*

Bamzai, P.N.K., *A History of Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1972.
*Kashmir: From Lake Success to Tashkent*, New Delhi.

Badauni, *Muntakhab-u-Tawarikh*, Eng. Tr. by Ranking, Howe and Haig.

Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1941.
*The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir, 1954.*

Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, London, 1891.

Bose, J.C., *Kashmir and its Prince*, Calcutta, 1889.

Cunningham, J.D., *History of the Sikhs.*

Diddamari, Mohd. Azam, *Tarikh-i-Azami*, MSS (A.K. Collection).

Digby, William, *Condemned Unheard*, London, 1890.

Drew, Frederic, *The Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875.

Forster, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, 1808.*

Hugel, Baron Charles, *Travels in Kashmir*, London, 1845.

Hussian, Fida Mohammad, *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, Delhi.

Jehangir, Emperor, *Tuzk-i-Jehangiri*, Eng. Tr. by Roger and Beveridge.

Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka, *Dwiti Rajatarangini*, Eng. Tr. by J.C. Dutt, 1879-98.

Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Tr. by Stein, London, 1900.

Knight, E.F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, London, 1905.

Koul, Pandit Anand, *The Geography of Jammu & Kashmir State*, 1925.

*The Kashmiri Pandit*, 1924.

Knowles, J. Hindon, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, London, 1888.

Kripa Ram, Dewan, *Gulab-nama*, New Delhi, 1976.

Lawrence Walter, *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng. Tr. by Denisson Ross, 1895.

Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Calcutta, 1959.

Moorcroft, William and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Province of Hindustan and the Punjab, Ladakh & Kashmir*, 2 vols. 1841.

Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, 3 vols, Calcutta (Bib. Ind.).

Pannikar, K.M., *The Founding of Kashmir State*, London, 1930.

Pir Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, MSS (A.K. Collection).

Ray, Sunil Chandra, *The Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, 1957.

Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashmir*, 2 vols., Labore, 1948-49.

Teng, Bhatt and Kaul, *Kashmir: Constitutional History and Documents*.

Thorp, Robert, *Cashmere Misgovernment*, London, 1870.

Vigne, G.T., *Travels in Kashmir*, Ladakh, Iskardo, 2 vols., 1842.

# Index


A

Aasi (a poet) 215, 216, 225, 230
Abdul Ahad, 235
Abdul Aziz Fazli 120
Abdul Ghaffar Khan, (Badshah Khan the frontier Gandhi) 41, 45, 172
Abdul Hamid Vakil, Sheikh 121
Abdul Latif 168
Abdul Qadir 20, 121, 122
Abdullah, Maulavi 222
Abdullah, Mohammad Sheikh, Chief Minister of Jammu-Kashmir 5, 9, 10, 11, 21, Passim
Abdur Rehman, Ghazi 179
Abdus Sattar Aas 229, 231
Abel Lone 203
Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana, 10, 45, 120, 138, 172
Acharya Kirplani 163
Afghanistan 145
Afzal Beg, Mirza 21, 45, 47, 52, 119, 122, 136, 150, 151, 152
Ahmad Khan, Syed 83
Ahmad Shah, Maulavi 172
Ahmad Yar Khan, Mian 47, 151, 152
Ahmadiya 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 84, 120
_____, Movement of 83
_____, organisation of 61
Ahmadullah Hamdani, Maulana Mirwaiz 117, 121
Ahmadullaha Mirwaiz, Màulavi 117
Ahrar 21, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 84, 120, 222
Aijaz, G.H. 119, 121
Akbar, Emperor of India 16
Akhbar-i-Aam, a newspaper 186
Akbar Jahan Begum 205
Akbar-nama 212
Al Fazal 84
Albion Bannerjee, Sir 20, 118, 120
Ali Kadal 223
Aligarh 64, 84, 86, 119, 189, 241
_____, Muslim Oriental-College of 37
_____, School of 85
_____, University of 222
All India Kashmir Committee 36, 65, 67
All India Muslim Educational Conference 117
All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference 64, 102
All India Spinners Association of Bombay 31
All India States People's Conference 10, 38, 86, 87, 169, 180, 197, 229, 237
All India States People's Congress 69

All Jammu and Kashmir Dogra Sabha 177
All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference 7, 9, 66, 126, 127, 195
All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference 7, 9, 11, 43, 69
All Jammu and Kashmir State Muslim Conference 41
All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (in Srinagar) 190
Allah Rakha Sagar (Advocate) 21, 105, 177, 180
Allahabad 5
Allen, Campbell Johnson 7
Amarnath, Diwan 31
Amarnath Kak Pandit, 94
Amar Singh, Maharaja 28, 186
Ambadar 219
America (American) 26, 44, 76
Amin Pandit, M., 167
Amira Kadal 168, 172, 208
Amritsar 83
_____, treaty of 2, 16, 17, 28, 46, 114, 115, 155, passim
Anantnag 19, 48, 206
Andhra State (of India) 48
Anglo Sanskrit School 94
Anil Seal 6
Anjuman-i-Hamdard Islam 102, 103, 104
Anjuman-i-Himyatul Islam 83
Anjuman-i-Islamia, Jammu 106
Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102
Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz-wa-Satri Masturat 104, 105
Annie Besaut, Mrs., 187
Arif Mirza (a poet) 215, 216, 217, 225, 236, 237
Arms Act, Provisions of 133
Araya Kumar Sabha 90, 91
Arya Samaj 90, 92, 109
_____, Amir Kadal 90
_____, Pritinidhi Sabha 90
Asaf Ali 9, 10, 47, 163, 168, 171, 172
Ashai, G.A. 37
Asia, Asian, 3, 36, 80
Assad-ullah, Munshi 93, 100
Avnish Nadam, 168
Awqaf, maintenance of, 106
Azad 215, 216
_____, Kashmir 49, 51
_____, Party 67
_____, Quraishi 104
_____, Subhani 120
Azim 219

## B

Babapora, 173
Badami Bagh, cantonment 163, 167
Baghi (rebel) Abdullah, 163
Bahadur Maharaja, His Highness 42, 43
Bailey, Colonel 63
Bakarwals, 242
Baldev Singh Pathania Thakore, R.B. Colonel 53
Balkak Dhar, Pandit 93
Balraj Madhok 113
Balraj Puri 15, 181
Baltistan 36 49
Baluchistan 50
Bangla Desh 75
Bapu, Gandhiji 31, 38, 47
Barjore Balal, Sir 122
Barjore Dalal 20
Barkat-Rai, Lala 168, 169
Baron Schonberg 105
Baramula 48, 66, 203
Bashir Durrani 160
Bashiruddin Mahmood, Ahmad, Mirza 65, 66
Bazaz, P.N. 23, 65, 67, Passim
Baz-Bahadur 75
Begam Abdullah (Madar-i-Millat) Wife of Sheikh Abdullah 223
Bekas (a poet) 219
Bengal (Bengali) 50, 82, 212
Benton Hart, Thomas 77
Bhag Ram 28
Bhagat Singh 8, 91
Bhagwan Das Gupta 9

Bhagwan Singh, 4
Bharat 47
Bhojpur 1
Bhopal, Nawab of (Muhammad Hamidullah Khan) 172
Biddulph Captain 28
_____, mission 28
Birbal Dhar 27
Biscoe, C.E.T., author of "Kashmir in Sunlight & Shade" 23
Bishandas, Diwan 31
Bohra 203
Bread Agitation 224
_____, Movement of 40
British Cabinet Mission 149, 150
_____, Common Wealth 148
_____, Crown 145, 200
_____, Government 22, 27, 28, 50, 51, 189
_____, Imperialism 50, 147, 156, 165, 169, 173, 174, 207
_____, Indian Government 59, 61
_____, Paramountcy 139
_____, Paramount Power 154, 155, 195
_____, Power 62, 144
_____, Residency 183, 184
Broomfield 6
Budh Singh, Mahatma 156
Budh Singh, Sardar 21, 52, 128, 167, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 181, 196
Budh Singh Tyagi 177
Buddhism 1
Buddhist 242
Budrwah 107
Budshah, 27
Burma Ordinance 83
Butler Committee 38

## C

Cabinet delegation 173
_____, Mission 46, 47, 71, 136, 152, 154, 174, 180
Central Kashmir Committee 119
_____, Parliamentary Board 138
Chabhal Gakhar 178
Chakbust, Kashmiri poet 53
Chamber of Princes 147
Chand Sultana 75
Charybdis 25
Chattar Singh, Choudhry 177
Chenani 179, 198
Chilas 29
China 49, 50, 51
_____, People's Republic of 49
Chinese 2, 51
_____, Republic 49
_____, Turkestan 49
Chitral 28
Chougan Bazar 107
Churchill 44
Clay, Henry (of America) 77
Clement Attlee (Earl) 46
Cochin 147, 158
Code of Succession 28
Colonial India 57, 62
Colvin, Col., Prime Minister of Kashmir 63, 66
Congress 5, 21, 58, Passim,
_____, I 207, 208
_____, leaders of 136, 163
_____, President of 172
_____, Working Committee 147, 171
Constitutional Act 28, 130-32
Constitutional reforms 135
_____, Conference 127
Constituent Assembly 139
Cripps Mission 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 154, 214
Craik, Sir 147
Calcutta Review 185
Cunningham, Author of History of Sikhs 22
Cunningham, British Governor 49
Curzon, Lord (Viceroy of India) 29

## D

Dahra-vols 221, 222
Daljit Singh, Raja 31, 33
Daniel Webster 77
Daya Kishan Kaul, Pandit 187
Daya Ram, Choudhry 179

Delhi 47, 76, 136, 137, 138, 168, 175, 188
Deoband School 241
Desai, A.R. 6
Devahuti, D., Dr. (Mrs.) 239
Devendra Satyarthi 232
Dewan Bagh (*see* Karan Nagar) 95
Dhar, D.P. 196
Dharam Sabha 94
Dharmarth Trust 129
Dilip Singh 186
Dina Nath 226, 227
_____, Kalia 179
Dogra 26, 27, 36, 47, 108, 242
_____, Court 172
_____, Raj 174
_____, Rule 8, 59, 62, 107, 212, 222, Passim
_____, Sabha 36, 177, Passim
_____, Sadar Sabham 116
_____, Section 59
_____, State 62
_____, Troops 38
Domel 138, 163
Douglas, A Stephen 77

## E

East India Company 174, 184, 199
East Punjab 50
Egypt 116
Emergency Administration 52
England 12, 120, 206, 224
Europeans 28, 33, 118, 242

## F

Fani (a poet) 215, 216
Fateh Kadal 205
_____, Reading Room 33, 37
Fatiha Ceremony 101
Fatima 206
Fazil (a poet) 219
Fazli 203
Firdausi 212
First-Sikh War 26
First World War 62, 102
Franco-War 80
Freedom Fighter Fund 205
Freedom Movement 34, 119, 180
_____, in J & K 114
Freedom Struggle movement 22
Frontier districts 134
French 26, 199
_____, Revolution 85, 199, 226

## G

Gajendragadkar 61
Gandhi, Mahatma (See Mahatma Gandhi)
Ganga Nath Rai Bahadur, 133
_____, Commission 134
Ganga Ram, Wazir 45
Gangarian 36
Ganhar, J.N. 183
Ganpatyar 95
Gauhar Abdur Rehman 105
Gauhar Rehman 42
Geneva 199
German 26, 99
Germany, 224
Ghizar 29
_____, Chiefships of 49
Ghulam Abbas, Choudhry, 21, 42, 69, 105, 121, 180
Ghulam Abbas, Khwaja 7
Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, Khan 121
Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor (a poet) 225, 229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236
Ghulam Ahmad, Mukhtar 119
Ghulam Hassan Beg, Mirza 236
Ghulam Hassan, Khan, Dr. 89
Ghulam Mohammad (Son of Jamal Bhat) 172
Ghulam Mohammad Alvi 104
Ghulam Mohammad, Bakshi 21, 31, 52, 128, 139, 160, 162, 190, 224-25
"Ghulam Mohammad, Gandhi" 31
Ghulam Mohiuddin Kara, Khan 158
Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq 21, 128, 190, 191, 224
Ghulam Mustafa Mirza 100, 101
Ghulam Qadir Bandey 179

Gilgit 26, 29, 36, 38, 51, 134
_____, Frontier of 49, 51
_____, Political Agent of 38
Gilkar, G.M. 178
Gilkar, G.N. 21
Girdharilal Dogra 53
Giyasuddin Peer 79
Glancy, B. J., Sir 20, 29, 32, 40
_____, Commission of 5, 66, 126, 244
Gohur Rehman Sardar 121
Gokhale 178
Gopalswami Ayyangar, N. 43, 44
Gopalaswami, N. 191
Gopinath Kaul, Pandit 186
Government of India Act of 1919 31
_____, of 1935 44
Govind Sahai 168
Greesty Nama 213
Grievances Enquiry Commission 40
Gulab Singh Maharaja of Kashmir 16, 19, 26, 27, 119, 125, 155, 174, 184, 185, 186, 199
Gujar 242
Gurdwara Chatti Padshahi Srinagar 172
Gwaliar Session of 1947 169

## H

Haiparbat Fort 20
Hakim Sahib, 105
Halat-P-Rou-i-Dad (a journal) 97
Hamdard (a weekly) 41, 69, 191
Hamidullah Shahbadi 212
Hamidullah Sheikh (Advocate) 105
Handa, R.L. (Author of Freedom Struggle in Princely States) 114
Hans Raj, Lala 177, 180
Hardinge Lord, (Viceroy of India) 29, 184, 185, 199
Hargopal Kaul, Author of "Guldasti Kashmir" 23
Hari Kishan Kaul, Raja 21, 22, 63, 94
Hari Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir 10, 31, 32, 33, 40, 48, 52, 62, 120, 125, 138, 167, 172, 188, 224
Harry Nedous 205
Hassan Nizami, Khwaja 106, 107
Hazari Bagh 19
Hazratbal, Shrine 160, 161
Henry Lawrence, Sir 184, 185
Himachal Pradesh 194
Hindi 212
Hindu Body 69
_____, Communalists 164
_____, Dogra Rajput of Jammu 35
_____, Middle Class 58, 59, 60, 61
_____, Muslim Communalism 144
_____, Nationalism 82
_____, Reform Movement 109
_____, Sabha 60
_____, Sangathan 92, 109
Hitlerian War 44
Hook 50
Hunza 29, 167
_____, Chiefships of 49
_____, District of 38, 49, 51
Hassan Shah Jalali, Syed 117
Hussain Shah 117
Hyderabad 48, 147 158, 241

## I

Ibrahim Babu 104
Id-i-Milad 69, 77
Imam-ud-din-Shiekh (Governor of Kashmir) 185
Imperial Archives (now the National Archives of India, New Delhi) 5
Imperial Coronation Darbar of (1911) 29
Imperial School of Historical writing 3
Inder Mahinder (Sipar-i-Sultanat-i-Inglishia) 40
India Office London 12
Indian Constitution 53
India's Freedom Movement 15
Indian National Congress 7, 10, 68,

87, 91, 99, 130, 162, 168, 171, 237, 241
Indian National leaders 206
_____, Movement of 9, 119, 123
Indian Penal Code 167
_____, Princedom 130
_____, States 62, 168, 169, 173, 174
Industrial Working class 108
Iqbal, Dr. (Poet of undivided India) 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 83, 85, 86, 155, 215
Ireland 116
Ishkoman 29
Islam 1, 97, 105
_____, spirit of 97
Islamabad 49

J

Jackson, Andrew 77
Jalal Din Mufti 21
Jalali, J.L.K. 25
_____, P.N. 143
Jalal Sahib 203
Jallianwala Bagh (massacre of) 31
Jam Sahib 147
Jam Satis 34
Jamal Bakht, Resident of Drujjan, Srinagar 172
Jamaluddin, Syed 57
Jammu and Kashmir, chief justice of 53
_____, Defence Rules 172, 173
_____, Legislature 129
_____, Muslim Conference 234
_____, Regulation No. I (1934) 127
_____, Struggle for Independence 59
Jan Begam 203
Jan Ded 204
Janak Singh, Major General 31, 34
Japan 99, 224
Jawaharlal Nehru 7, 9, 10, 41, 45, 47, 58, 69, 86, 137-38, 145, 156, 162, 163, 168, 169, 172, 191, 196, 197, 206, 224
Jaya Prakash Narayan 171-72
Jia Lal Kilam 163, 168, 224
Jinnah, Mohammad Ali (Founder of Pakistan) 7, 47, 50, 152, 153, 164, 168, 180, 225
Jwala Sahai Dewan 186

K

Kak, R.C. 45, 151, 152, 158, 159, 164, 165
_____, Government 164
_____, Regime 162
_____, Scot 164
Kamarud-Din, Vakil 93
Kamil (a poet) 219
Karachi 224
Kara Koram Road 49, 51
Kargil, Tehsil 49
Karnah 49
Kashmir 1, 2, 3, Passim
_____, Chilki 30
_____, Committee 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 83, 162, 201
_____, Darbar 116
_____, Folklore 221
_____, Freedom Movement 121
_____, Struggle 167
_____, Gate 29
_____, Government 129
_____, & Jammu Youngmen's Association 33
_____, Movement 64, 83, 84, 87
_____, Muslim Committee 119
_____, Sansar (a weekly newspaper) 181
_____, Sewak 21
_____, Somadeva 221
_____, State Muslim Conference 83, 84
_____, Struggle 60, 63, 64
_____, Sultan 222
Kashmiri Afghan 201
_____, Pandit 8, 37, 40, 41, 43, 60, 94, 95, 96, 179, 182, 184, Passim
Kashmiri Pandit Community 224
_____, Conference 60

_____, Socio Religious Movement 94
Kashmiri Poets 215
_____, Saraswats (Kashmiri Pandit) 40
_____, Struggle for Independence 217
_____, Tarjamah (Journal) 119
Kashyap Bandhu Pandit 70, 128, 156, 178, 188, 191, 196, 224
Kasim Rizvi 48
Katha Sarita Sagar, By Somadeva of Kashmir 221
Kaul, Ghwasha Lal 19, 188
Kawji Adda 93
Khalid-i-Kashmir (see Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad) 46, 224
Khan Abdul Qayum Khan 49
Khanqah-e-Maulla 32, 121
_____, Molla, Shrine 161
Khan Samad Khan (of Baluchistan) 172
Khudai Khidmatgars 119
Khushi Mohammad, Choudhry 30
Khwajapura 203
Khwaja reform movement 107
Kiernander 30
Kilam, J.L. 196
Kilam, Jia Lal 70, 93, 178, 187, 188, 189, 190
Kirmani (Son of Nooruddin Bandey) 160-61
Kisan Mazdoor Party 163
Kishan Dhar, Maharaj 172
Kishan Kaul Hare 202
Kohalla (Border post) 138
Koul 115
Krishan Dev Sethi 179, 181
Krishna Menon (also Author of Unity of India) 119
Kundan (a poet) 219

## L

Ladakh 1, 7, 16, 26, 36, 51, 125, 134, 193, 194, 195, 242
_____, Frontier of 49
Ladde-Shah 212
Lahore 47, 64, 83, 90, 91, 118, 119, 132, 139, 185, 186, 188, 206, Passim
_____, Court 174
_____, Darbar 26, 174, 185
Lajpat Rai, Lala 38, 92, 188
Lal Singh, Raja 185
Lalitaditya 234
Lawrence, W. (author of Valley of Kashmir) 22
League of Nations 31, 202
Lincoln, Abraham (President of America) 77
Liverpool 49
London 120, 208
Ludhiana 86, 197

## M

Madar-i-Meharban (title of Begam Shiekh Abdullah) 206
Madar-i-Millat (i.e. Begam Abdullah) 223
Madras 33, 76
Madhsudhan Kak Pandit 168
Mahatma Gandhi 9, 10, 90, 92, 95, 163, 169, 178, 189, 204, 206, 237-38
Mahajan Sabha 116
Maharajgunj 21, 189
Mahinder Singh, S. (Editor of 'Watan') 181
Mahjoor (a poet) 213, 214, 215, 217, 219
Mahmuda Ali Shah, Miss 206
Maisuma 156, 168, 172
Majlis-i-Ahrar 83
Malaysia 2
Manchester 49
Mangla Dam 51
Maqbul Hussain 30
Maqbool Khan Pandit 117
Maqbool Kralawari 212, 213
Maqbool Sherwani, Mir 235, 237
Maulla Baksh, Nawab 30

Mazlcom ki Awaz (a journal) 119
Mazloom Kashmir (a journal) 119
Mecca 205
Mehrchand Mahajan 4
Mehrotra, S.R. 3
Mian Pratap Singh (see Pratap Singh, Maharaja) 28
Mian Ahmad Yar 133, 136, 139
Middleton 20, 195
Minto Morley Reforms of 1909 29
Mirpur 51, 178, 179, 181, 196
Mirpura 66
Mirwaize 32, 37, 49, 59, 101
Misri, M.L. 160
Mission with Mountbatten (a book) 7
Mitra, A., Dr. 31
Mohammad Abdullah Saikhavi 179
Mohammad Abdullah, Sheikh, See Abdullah Mohammad Sheikh
Mohammad Abdullah Vakil, Maulvi 37
Mohammad Akbar Khan, Raja (of Mirpur) 178, 179, 181
Mohammad Amin Drabu, 93
Mohammad Assa-ullah 107
Mohammad Din Bandey 179
Mohammad Din Foqi 23
Mohammad Gouri 105
Mohammad Ibrahim, Babu 102
Mohammad Sheikh, 168
Mohammad, Iqbal, Sheikh 201
Mohammad Quraishi, Hakim 104
Mohammad Rajab 119
Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, Maulana 167, 172, 173
Mohammad Shafi, Choudhry (of Bagsar) 179
Mohammad Yaqoob, Mistri 121
Mohammad Yasin, Professor 75
Mohammad Yousf Shah 121
Mohidin Sufi, Dr. 185
Mohinder Singh, Sardar 177
Mohsin Shah, Syed 93
Mountbatten 7, 48
Mujahid Manzil 33
Mulk Raj Saraf, M. 172, 177, 180
Munadi (a journal of Delhi) 107
Muslim Conference (of Kashmir) 15, 17, 21, 22, 38, 41, 42, 44, 48, 132, 137, 164, 178, 179, 190, 191, 222, 223, Passim
Muslim League 16, 21, 43, 46, 48, 50, 67 130, 146, 147, 163, 164, 180, Passim
Muslim Religious Political Movement 60
_____, Representation in Govt. Services 102
_____, Youngmen Association 116
Muzaffarabad 35, 40, 48
_____, district of 49
Muzzaffar-ud Din 93

N

Nadim (a poet) 217, 218, 219, 225, 226, 227, 228, 231, 236
Nagar 29, 38, 167
Nanak Shaho 174
Nand Ram 234
Narchus 22
_____, Paltan 21
Narendra Mandal or (defunct Chamber of Princes of India) 31
Narendra Nath Kaul, Jalali 31
Nawa Nagar 147
Nazis 44
New Delhi 165, 171
National Conference 7, 9, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 33, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 57, 61, Passim
National Conference leaders 205
_____, Movement 180
_____, Parliamentary Party of 133
_____, Party 70
_____, Working Committee 133, 134, 155
National Congress 38, 196
_____, Cultural Front of 208, 231
_____, Movement of 44, 58, 59, 62, 217
New York 52

Nirmal Bose 3
Nishat Bagh 232
Nizam-ul-Muashayakh 107
Non-Cooperation Movement 90
Noor Shah 32
Noor Shaw, Khan Naqshabandi 117, 118
Nooruddin Bandey 161
North West Frontier 49
_____, Province Afridis of 50
Nowshera 203
Nusrat-ul Islam Anjuman 96

## O

Oral History, a book 5
Oriental Conference, 29 1
Orissa 171

## P

Pahalgam 178
Pakistan 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, 35, 36, 49, 50, 53, Passim
_____, Army 49
_____, Government 49
_____, Quade Azam 49
Pampore 162
Pandit, S.L., Prof. 193
Paris 208
Pathshalas (School) 93
Patna 5
Peary Mohan Aattatriya, Pandit (of Delhi) 188
People Conference 136, 164
Peshin, S.N., Dr. 128, 191, 196
Phillip, C.H. 3
Pir, Mohammad Khan 53
Pir Panchal Range 76, 194
Plowden, C. 28
Poonch 40, 49, 107, 179
_____, Muslim Subject 107
Poorna Swaraj 110
Powell Richard 158, 159, 164
Praja Mandal 137
Praja Sabha 44, 127, 131, 132, 133, 136, 138, 139, 164, 194, 195, 196
_____, (State Assembly) 41
Pratap, Maharana 75
Pratap Singh, Maharaja 29, 31, 91, 125, 177, 186, 187, 188, 200
Prem Nath Bazaz (see also Bazaz, P.N. 4, 21, 41, 163, 224
Public Wandering Department 40
Punapur 158
Punial 29, 49
Punjab 30, 36, 44, 50, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, 82, 83, 84, 90, 97, 138, Passim
_____, Government 105
_____, Movement 83
Punjabi Muslim Press 64
Pushp, P.N., Prof 211, 234

## Q

Qadian 66
Qadiani 21
_____, Movement of 83, 84
Qalamdanpura 37
Qasim Ali, Hakim 173
Quincy Adams, John 77
Quit Hyderabad 156
Quit India 156
_____, Agitation 44
_____, Movement 16, 45, 181, 204, 214
_____, Slogan 174
Quit Kashmir 35, 47, 71, 145, 156, 157, 161, 169, 171, 173, 174, 197, 206, 230, 236
_____, Agitation 138
_____, Campaign 214
_____, Movement 9, 22, 87, 137, 144, 154, 163, 166, 173, 204, 205, 206, 207
_____, Struggle 143, 144, 161, 163, 165
Quran 103, 203

## R

Rabindranath, Tagore 232

Radha Krishan Kaul Jalali, Rai Bahadur, Pandit 30, 31
Raghunath Koul 168
Raghvan, G.S. (author of 'The Kashmir Struggle') 23
Raizada Trilok Chand 39
Ram Chand Dubey 179
Ram Chandra Kak, Pandit 139
Ram Das, Lala 95
Ram Ganjoo 212
Ram Krishan Kaul 125
Ram Singh 28, 186
Ranbir (a weelky paper) 180
Ranbir Singh, Maharaja 27, 28, 125, 186
Ranjit Singh, Maharaja, 3, 185
Rasool Shah, Maulavi (Mirwaiz of Kashmir) 97, 189
Ravi (a river of India) 156
Rawalpindi 42, 104
Rawlatt Act 31
Razaq Joo Bohru, Khwaja 203
Reading, Lord (Viceroy of India) 117, 201
Reading Room Party 60, 61, 64, 65, 119, 201
Reform Conference 126
Reformatory Mission 105
Reh 219
Roosevelt, President (of America) 44
Roshan Lal, Master 179, 181
Roshan Rahi 219
Roti Agitation 41
Round Table Conference 120
Rousseau 77, 199
Royal Agriculture Commission 38
Ruph dance 222
Russia 12, 186, 224
Russian Revolution 232

## S

'Sach' (a weekly paper) 181
Sadiq, G.M. 47, 52, 150, 162, 207
Sadiq Hussain, Sheikh (Rais-i-Amritsar) 100
Saduddin Shawl 22, 37, 121
Saifuddin Qadri, Qazi 119
Saifuddin Shawl 222
Sajida Bano 203
Saijida Zamir Ahmad 208
Somnath Dhar 221
Samunder Khan, General 177, 180
Sanatan Dharam Yuvak Sabha 178
Saraf, S.L. 52
Sardar Budh Singh, See Budh Singh, Sardar 43
Sardar Patel 7
Sarfi 27
Satyagrah Movement 179
Savarkar 81, 82
Sawoora, Srinagar 168
Scott, Brig. 158
Scott, H.L. (General Chief of the Military Staff) 157
Seeley, Prof. 113
Shah Yusuf 224
Sahabuddin Khan, Rayees 121
Shahe-Hamadan 217, 218
Shahnama Kashmir version of 212
Shaikh (reference to, Sheikh Abdullah)
Shaikh Abdullah, See Abdullah Mohammad Sheikh
Shakdar 213
Shakespeare 26
Sham Lal Saraf, Pandit 128, 178, 191, 196
Shankar Lal Kaul 21, 188
Sharp, Mr. 117
Sheo Narayan Fotedar 163
Shere Babar Kilam 224
Sher-e-Kashmir (Lion of Kashmir) 204 223, 224, 225
Shivaji 75
Shiwal's temple 95
Shyam Lal Kaul, Pandit 162
Sialkot 83, 90
Silk Factory of Kashmir 32
_____, Workers 104
Simla 76
Simon Commission 38

Singh, G.D.M. "Kashmir", a book
Sinkiang 51
Siraj-ud-din Gani 93
Skardu (Baltistan) tehsil 49
Social Reform Committee 107
Social Reform Movement 100
Socialist Party 163, 164
Socio Religious reform (movement in the J & K State) 107, 109
Somadeva 221
Sopore 153
_____, Session 45
Soura, a village 222, 223
Soviet Union (Russia) 145
Srinagar 19, 22, 30, 31, 33, 97, 138, 162, 167, 222, 223, Passim
Sri Pratap Hindu College 187
Stafford Cripps, Sir 148
States Peoples Conference 137
Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir (a book) 122
Sudhnoti 49
Suraj Kaul, Raja 28, 187
Syed Ahmad Khan, Sir, 84, 85, 86
Syed Hussain Shah Jalali, Rayees 121
Syed-ul-Din Shawl, Khawaja 117, 118
Swadeshi 178
_____, Movement 91
Switzerland 99

T

Tahrik-i-Kashmir 66
Tanjir 29
Taraq Waheed 113
Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir 31
Tendulkar, D.G. 10
Teng 115
Tibet 26
Tilak 81, 178
_____, Fund 90
Tourism, Department of 208
Travancore 147, 158
Trilok Chand, Comrade 179
Tripura 130
_____, Congress 130
Turkey

U

Udaipur 10
Ulema (of India) 83, 85, 240
Umar Bhat 160
UNESCO 208
United Nations 50
_____, Commission (for India) 50
_____, Commission (for Pakistan) 50
UNO 12
United States of America (U S.A.) 12, 76, 171
Urdu 194, 206, 212, 215, 222, 223, 224, 227, 231
_____, Poetry of 215
Uri 10, 49
Uri Dak Bungalow 47
U.S.S R (Russia) 207

V

Vayalar 158
Vedas 90, 91
Vedlal Dar Vakil, Pandit 94
Versailles, Treaty of 31
Vicharnag 21, 37
Vinayshil Gautam 1

W

Wahab din Haji 179
Wahab Perey 212
Wakefield 39
Wavell (Viceroy of India) 138
Wazir Surup Chand 168
West Bengal 50
_____ Punjab 50
Wilson, President (of America) 31
Wordsworth 232
World War I 102
_____, II 86

## Y

Yasin Madhvi (Mrs.) Dr. 199
Yezar Pirs 105
Young Men's Muslim Assciation, Jammu 105
Yusuf Shah, Mirwaiz 21, 42, 48, 67, 164, 222, 223
Yuvak Sabha (youth society) 95, 96, 163

## Z

Zainab Begum 207
Zain-ul-Abidin, Badshah 186
Zia-ul-Haq, General 51
Zinda Kaul Master 228, 229, 231
Zoni Gujree 204
Zoni, Mujahid 205
Zooni Brigade 237
Zulfiqar Ali Khan 65